A RUNAWAY FROM HOME

BY HUGO STAUB

In criminology and in various other social problems, considerations other than psychology are of importance. Climatic or economic factors, the social structure, traditions, the level and form of civilization, politics, power, and numerous other determinants must be kept in mind for the solution of criminological problems.

If a lady of the privileged class has a compulsion to steal from department stores, articles she can well afford to buy, when she soberly realizes what she has done she will be appalled. She will be compelled to conclude that something must be wrong with her; otherwise, she could not act so illogically. She may or may not consult a psychiatrist, but neither she nor anyone who learns about it will have any doubt that she is an unfortunate sufferer from an emotional disorder and needs help. But when a poor woman suffers from the same compulsive urge to steal, the result is totally different. This woman, if she is sufficiently reflective, may feel that there is an urge stronger than herself which drives her to the deed; but immediately she will tell herself, 'I need those things; I cannot afford to buy them, and that is why I steal them', and the logic of this answer will prevail.

The reaction of society will be equally different in the two instances. It is most improbable that the wealthy lady will have to face a court. The family will contrive to cover up the incident. Often in such cases the husband notifies department store managers that his wife has a peculiar habit of taking things, instructing them simply to observe what she takes and send him the bill. Should by any chance the lady be so unfortunate as to be sent to trial, the attorney's task in defending her will be easy. He will have no difficulty in demonstrating her act to be inconsistent and illogical, nor in showing that the only explanation possible in such a case is that the accused is not a thief but rather a victim of deeply rooted emotional dis-

turbances which call for treatment and not for punishment. The psychiatrist will have no difficulty in explaining to the court the mechanism and structure of cleptomania. In the case of the poor woman, everything seems clear and devoid of any psychological problems whatsoever. She stole what she wanted to have and could not afford to buy. She may say, 'I don't know why I did it', but honesty will compel her to say, 'I took them because I wanted to have them', and no one will have any doubt that she is a thief.

Cleptomania is by no means a disease confined to the rich, but such things are very differently interpreted under varying social circumstances, and not only in the case of stealing. The more I see of criminals in the course of years, the more I am compelled to doubt that there are many genuine criminals. I know that here I am in disagreement with the majority of criminologists, and contradicting previous statements made by Alexander and myself; however I cannot say with conviction that I have seen a so called genuine criminal, a person who acts criminally without some sort of inner conflict, without any mechanism of anxiety, feelings of guilt, or self-punishment.

I do not deny that the human being is born polymorphous-perverse and asocial, that the child's demands for emotional gratifications are distinctly dissocial, and that social adaptation is achieved, to a greater or lesser degree, by the processes of growth and education. Primarily, the human being is dissocial, criminal. But I do not believe that in our civilization anyone is capable of maintaining unmodified such an antisocial attitude. Nobody can escape entirely the educational, adaptive influence of our social structure. Even when a child is born and reared in a criminal environment, it will go to school and be influenced socially by father images. It will be in constant touch with more socially adapted human beings, and feel the restricting demands of society. A human being sufficiently courageous and stubborn to maintain a totally antisocial attitude, standing alone against the world, balanced, on his feet, without anxieties, doubts, mechanisms of guilt, and self-punishment is inconceivable.

What happens is that the processes of adaptation is more or less incomplete, but nevertheless full of conflicts, tension, ambivalence, etc.. Reality often replaces these mechanisms of guilt and self-punishment. If reality presses hard enough and inflicts sufficient suffering, the inner restrictions are weakened, anxiety relieved, and aggressive tensions released in action. This we know to be a general human pattern. Under certain social circumstances neuroses may diminish or even temporarily disappear.

So, if we go into the history of the shaping of a criminal character, we will find—or at least I have found with all professional criminals whom I have had the opportunity to study—that there is an emotional urge to act dissocially which originates in unconscious roots of a conflictful, that is neurotic, pattern. The ego, in its biologically determined drive for synthesis, eventually finds rationalizations for the dissocial urges whose development is greatly augmented by the reaction of society toward dissocial behavior. An adult criminal is an end product of such development.

I have studied notorious and skilled professional criminals—thieves, burglars, safe-crackers, second story men—who lived the greater part of their lives behind prison walls. While in prison most of them were calm and well adjusted; but when they were released from prison they became shaky, disintegrated, unbalanced, inhibited, emotional, except while performing criminal acts, when they are usually calm and concentrated. The 'genuine criminal' who commits crimes, his total personality participating but without conflict, I never found in Europe; and although my American experience is comparatively limited (I have not had opportunity to study a professional murderer here) I doubt that human beings in these two areas of western civilization are basically different. I have observed numerous bankers, captains of industry, business men, who were convicted of unscrupulous and dissocial acts. Among them I found not a single one who did not have some sort of self-punishing mechanism, although many appeared to be entirely free from anxiety. If in no other way, it took the

form of satisfaction which some of them derived from allowing themselves to be robbed by women, which showed some sort of a retaliatory superego at work.

Let us return to the example of the indigent woman who has a compulsion to steal. Her ego will easily find a synthesis with the cleptomanic urge. Society, through its present method of dealing with criminals, will do what remains necessary to make of her a homogeneous thief. Acting under the pressure of unconscious urges, she will be repeatedly punished. Quickly becoming an outcast from decent society, she will react with defiant resentment. It will become more and more difficult for her to make an honest living and the object of her stealing compulsion will become displaced from symbolic equivalence to dire need. This interplay between acting out an unconscious fantasy, and the reaction of society to it, will soon transform her into an integrated criminal character. Forced for companionship to resort with criminals with whom she is thrown in contact, the influence of those outcasts, who have already accomplished the processes of dissocial character integration, will complete the process. But for all that, she was no more or less a cleptomaniac than the rich lady, before she was forced to become a criminal.

Needless to say, as long as society does not basically change its attitude toward criminals, the prospects for prevention or cure, in most cases, are rather gloomy. Where prognosis is better, a greatly modified psychoanalytic technique is the best approach.

Considerably brighter than with adults are the prospects in working with criminal adolescents. The formation of their characters is still incomplete, or at least less rigidly fixed, and the attitude of society toward the adolescent is healthier, less prejudiced, and less detrimental to psychotherapeutic efforts. A very simple case, one of thousands which society annually converts into criminals, will serve to illustrate the problems involved.

An adolescent of seventeen was in serious trouble with the probation authorities and the juvenile court in a small city on

the West Coast. He was a bright boy with no marked dissocial character trends. His intelligence was above normal, he was in the third year at high school. His problem was that he ran away from home. His home provided no clue to the motive. His mother, a pleasant, good-looking, healthy woman, kept a comfortable and orderly household and had a kind and understanding attitude toward the boy. The stepfather was steadily employed as a bus driver. The family life was normal. Another child, a daughter of seven, was a member of this household. The stepfather left the responsibility for the boy mainly to the mother. Because he was not the boy's own father, he refrained from interfering as much as possible. He had a pleasant relationship with the boy, although there was little intimacy between them. The boy was inhibited in his presence; they did not speak much to each other. The boy refused to address him, 'father', but called him by his first name. Neither the parents nor the boy had much to complain of about the family life. The boy required little discipline. He did not like to wash dishes, but did, and he disliked to work in the garden.

The boy's only complaint was that he felt he was not wanted at home, that he was superfluous there. He began running away from home at the age of twelve, when he stole about a hundred dollars from his mother's purse, stole a car, and rode out of town. When he ran out of gas, he parked the car neatly in a town, stole another car and kept going. Several hundred miles south he sought a grandmother with whom he had lived when he was eight, while his mother and father were obtaining a divorce. On arrival, he told his grandmother that he felt unwanted at home and, with the consent of his parents, he remained with her. He worked very diligently, attended school regularly, helped with the chores, and seemed to be happy.

Suddenly he ran away again and trekked several thousand miles in California and the neighboring states, sometimes on freight cars, but usually in stolen automobiles. He worked extremely hard, taking any job which presented itself to him.

Apprehended by the police and brought home, he soon ran away again, this time riding around his home town in stolen cars and sleeping at night in the woods. After a short time, exhausted and run down physically, he was picked up again by the police.

This behavior had become chronically repetitive. Once he left home, remained in town and took a room in a hotel and continued in school. He went to the school principal and told him that he had found some money in the gutter in front of the school. The principal noted immediately that the bills were new and clean. Investigation revealed that the money was change from twenty dollars which had been stolen from a schoolmate's car. The boy readily confessed that he had stolen the money to pay his hotel bill.

His mother appealed to the juvenile court for advice and assistance. From having been a remarkably good student, his work in school had deteriorated because of his frequent absences. An enlightened judge refrained from any measures of punishment, made the lad a ward of the court, and sent him to me. The boy was placed in a detention home under the supervision of a very wise and motherly lady. He was brought each day for treatment by a member of the probation department.

I explained to him the nature and meaning of the treatment and asked him to lie on a couch and to talk about whatever he wanted to say. He was tense, somewhat tremulous, and restless. All he could manage to say was: 'I can't think. I have many thoughts, but they come and go and I can't catch them.' This, I told him, was not surprising because since *he* was always running away, his thoughts did the same thing. The success was tremendous. After the second day of treatment, he escaped from the detention home and was on the run again.

Four days later the police captured him some hundred and fifty miles north. On arrival at the detention home, the matron, whom I had instructed, was kind to him, gave him a good meal, and put him to bed with no reproaches. After a day of rest he was brought again for treatment. He stated that

he had no idea why he had fled; he just had to. I said that I was not at all surprised, and that he could not expect any change in himself until he learned why he behaved as he did.

This experience had been an especially unpleasant one. The police had put him in a county jail with 'a bunch of drunks and criminals'. I remarked that in the eyes of the law he was a criminal too; he had stolen automobiles and money. This, he said, had never seriously occurred to him. At any rate, he did not like life as it looked 'from the other side of society'. He had been enraged when one of his fellow prisoners had attacked him homosexually. He had fought with him and knocked him down a flight of stairs. He was very proud of this achievement. The other boy was quite strong and older.

Although not surprised, I told him that I was somewhat worried because the treatment I was giving him, with the permission of the court and the probation authorities, was in the nature of an experiment. The police would bring him back whenever he escaped, but I did not know how far the patience of the authorities would go, as many of them looked with distrust and some contempt on these experiments of a foreigner who came to this country and proposed to deal with criminals in this strange way. In addition, I told him, if he should run away again it might make trouble for the matron; moreover, by hampering this experiment I was being allowed to make, he might ruin the chances of many other boys who, for unknown reasons, ran away from home, stole cars, and became involved in the machinery of the law, the police and prison, their lives ruined.

Nothing happened for a few days. He could not concentrate or 'catch his thoughts'. He worked hard helping with the housework and in the kitchen. The next day he disappeared. Three days later he appeared at his mother's house, sick with influenza and completely exhausted. Back in the detention home, he was put to bed until he recovered. By this time the matron had become uneasy, for having a boy over sixteen in the detention home was irregular and she was fearful

she would get into trouble with the authorities. Police officers and others were already talking about the strangeness of the procedure, saying it would lead to nothing but an accumulation of criminals in the community, attracted by the prospect of being treated leniently. So she locked the boy up in his room, but otherwise treated him with kindness. When I next saw him I explained that the matron could not afford to risk losing her job, that we were being criticized for our strange unusual handling of his case, and that, very probably, he would also cause me trouble if he ran away again. I tried to explain that he was running away from inner feelings; that first of all, he was running away because he was afraid; that the same was true whenever he was with me where he was tense and where his thoughts likewise ran away so fast he could not catch them.

I advised him to talk to the matron or to the department psychologist if the impulse should seize him when he could not reach me. I made him further aware that he was receiving preferential treatment, much better than thousands of other boys who did nothing worse than he had done, and who were in jail and prison; that he bore a great responsibility for these other boys. If we could show that our way of dealing with his problem was successful, he would help improve the fate of many others whose lives were being destroyed by the usual process of the law. These arguments made a great impression on him. He believed he would not run away again.

He told the following story to account for the two latest flights. Before treatment started he had met in the county jail a man of about twenty-five years of age who, needing an assistant, invited him to meet him in a town some one hundred fifty miles north, with the plan of going together to Canada where, he said, there was plenty of opportunity for work. They would always have lots of money, own their own car and have great times together. The first time he had been unable to locate him; but on finding him the second time, he soon discovered him to be a professional thief. The boy became frightened at the idea of entering upon a criminal career from which there would be no retreat, and decided it would be much

better to come home, face whatever punishment he might receive, and start life anew.

A few days later he brought a dream in which he had a fight with a man, which later he remembered took place in an automobile. The night before he had read an adventure story about an explorer who went to the North Pole in a Zeppelin. The explorer fell through a large hole in the earth into the inner part of the earth where he found human beings living in a stone-age state of civilization.

The man with whom he had fought could, he said, be anyone. Could it be the man he had run away to meet? 'It could be', he replied. 'After all, I had a dispute with him, but I don't think it was.' Could it be his father? 'Yes', he said, 'I can't think of anyone I would have as much reason to fight as my real father'. His father had 'let him down'. After the parents separated, the father showed no interest in him and never kept his promise to the mother to contribute money for the boy's care. Whenever the mother sent the boy to his father to ask for money, the father took him into saloons, offered him beer, drank a lot himself. He occasionally gave him a little money, but usually only promises. He had no chance to talk things over with his father because 'he knows all the answers', fancied himself to be an expert in everything while in reality he had achieved nothing.

'Here', I interrupted, 'you have unlimited opportunity to talk and to discuss whatever you like'.

'Yes, that is funny. Here I have the opportunity, and can't talk.' And after a pause, 'Does it take a long time to become a psychologist?'

'Yes, rather a long time.'

'You know all about human beings. You see through them immediately, and know what's going on in them.'

'No, I know only some general trends or traits; to find out in detail about what goes on in a human being needs special study and collaboration. I could never find out without your help what is going on within you, but by both looking we could find out together, and you would know as well as I.'

He then started and for several days talked about his childhood. His mother and his father were unhappy. There was very little money—his father worked only occasionally—and there were quarrels between his parents over the father's relations with other women. One day, when he was a tiny little child, he set off at dusk down the street on his 'kiddie car'. His absence frightened his mother who searched for him and brought him back.

I commented that he started to run away rather early. Perhaps one of the reasons for it had been to induce his mother to run after him, to stimulate her interest in him and her concern about him. Without answering, he recalled that as a small boy he had had a dog and a cat. He remembered seizing the cat by its tail and swinging it around in the air. When he was a little older he trapped all sorts of animals and brought them home, but as he did not know how to care for them, they died. One day when he was about nine, he found a bird's nest in a tree in front of his house, took the little birds from the nest and left them in the street to be killed. His mother did not punish him for this, but warned him that the mother bird might come one day to take vengeance and peck at his head with her beak. This had frightened him greatly. This was about the time his mother had remarried, and soon his little sister was born.

Once he and some companions caught forty-five squirrels, killed and dissected them. On the basis of several similar recollections, I observed, about three weeks after he began treatment, that he seemed to have been a rather cruel child, and that perhaps the spirits of these tormented and killed animals might have driven him to run away. Completely unimpressed, he said loftily that he was not superstitious. True of his attitude now, it might, I explained, have been different at the time he killed these animals. He made the reasonable objection that even if what I said were so, his running away was current and he no longer believed in ghosts. I reminded him that he had believed the statement that the mother bird would come to revenge the death of her young. A similar fear about the

squirrels he had killed could continue to operate 'behind a curtain' in his mind, unknown to him. Such a fear might still be working in him like the story he had read in which a long forgotten world—the stone age—had a continued existence inside the earth, unperceived on the surface. The hour was over, and as he left he seemed to be astonished and greatly disturbed.

After his second return to the detention home, he was kept locked in his room for a while. He resented this very much but accepted the explanation that the matron did not want to take any further risks. Soon after, he had to share his room with another boy whom he was asked to supervise. The patient read a great deal and did what he could to help the other boy to adjust himself. After a week he was again allowed freedom in the detention home, and he showed great eagerness to work. He scrubbed floors and cleaned the whole house from top to bottom. At the same time he made plans to catch up in his studies which, naturally, were greatly in arrears. The supervising psychologist was asked to discuss with him a schedule for work. A student teacher was found who came to the home to instruct him and the other boys. He was eager to learn and determined to graduate from high school and either go to college or become a salesman.

He stated he had no thought of running away again. This gave me the opportunity to tell him that the reasons he gave for running away from the detention home did not sound convincing to me. Knowing in advance that he did not want to become a criminal, he had run off to join one in order to make up his mind that he did not want to join in his career. I was sure that some forces were at work here 'behind the curtain'. 'For example', I said, 'in running away at the beginning of your treatment you wanted to test our promise to treat you kindly and take care of you. Both these escapades seem to be like your running away in the kiddie car as a child. You wanted to find out whether or not we would react as a good mother.' Much impressed, he said, 'Yes, that sounds very reasonable. I have really felt much safer and calmer since then.'

He was worried about how he would be received when he returned to school. He feared that he would be shunned. A girl he liked and had taken to dances might now not want to associate with him.

Meanwhile, the mother of the boy from whose car he had stolen twenty dollars came to claim the money. This worried him. His mother and stepfather neither could nor wanted to refund the money. The patient's mother said she would approach his own father and ask him to do something about it as he owed money for the boy's upkeep anyway, but the boy was very doubtful that this plan would succeed.

Next he began to talk about his little half-sister. He liked her although they quarreled, but he remembered how jealous he had been when she was born and said that he is still jealous of her. He had never harmed her but thought always that it would be better for him if she were not there. Because she was the 'real child' of the stepfather and his mother, he felt superfluous and unwanted. I now recalled to him that he had reported the killing of the little newborn birds as coinciding approximately with his mother's remarriage and the birth of the sister. In this cruel destruction of the baby birds he was acting out what he would have liked to do to the baby sister. He saw the point immediately. In this substitution the mother bird was his mother toward whom he felt guilty and fearful. He could well have had an impulse to run away from the temptation to do harm to this little sister, and from fear of his mother's revenge.

He did not answer, but after an interval he related the following story. While living with his grandmother, after the first flight from home, he was flying a kite high in the air in a field adjacent to an airport. Suddenly a private plane with two people in it, in landing, became entangled in his kite and crashed. He was terrified and in his panic had the conviction that the plane would crash right on his head. This, I said, was the big bird coming to peck at his head; furthermore, it transpired that it was shortly after this incident that he ran away from his grandmother's house. He was astonished but

said only, 'That clicks. Now I understand many things I didn't understand before.'

His supervision was gradually relaxed, and about six weeks after the beginning of the treatment I made arrangements for him to go home for a week-end visit. His self-confidence was obviously strengthened by this mark of trust we placed in him. When he returned he commented with surprise at how smoothly his life seemed to run now. He found himself enjoying a great many little things of which he had never before been aware.

He reverted to the incident of the airplane crash. The plane had had a motor defect, and the propeller had broken when it became entangled with the kite. The man was thrown out, suffering broken ribs and a bleeding nose, and the woman was badly bruised. The plane was broken to pieces and the people in the neighborhood collected the pieces as souvenirs. This reminded him that in his home town some two months previously, a man had fallen from a freight train and had been cut to pieces by the train. He had been much astonished to see a colored woman collecting parts of the body in a basket. With such a series of bloodthirsty ideas, I said that I would be interested to know who it was he would like to smash. He thought a while and said, 'Oh, there are many people who still don't believe I have really changed and don't trust me'. But he was willing to work a while to prove that he really had changed. If then, despite his efforts, people still doubted, he would certainly like to smash them. He then decided that if he had to smash somebody now, it would be two girls in the detention home who annoyed him by making 'wisecracks' about him. I interjected a comment about the big bird over his head and the tendency to hurt little girls. 'Yes', he said, 'it seems always to be the same problem'.

His week-end at home had been very pleasant. His stepfather asked him whether he was nervous and whether he might feel like running away again. Such a thought had not occurred to him until his stepfather mentioned it. He had replied that of course he would not run away again. I observed that his

stepfather did not seem to be convinced but that his attitude was quite natural. He apparently did not mean to be nasty but was probably still just a bit worried. I explained that he would need a lot of patience and to be prepared to feel hurt by the distrust of others until he could convince them that he has changed. This might take time. I did not remind him on this occasion that a few minutes before he had said he would like to smash anybody who, despite his efforts, would not believe him to be changed.

He was very eager to get out of the detention home and back to high school. His only concern was how his teachers and the boys and girls would react toward him. I warned him again that there might be some disappointments in store, and told him that arrangements were being made for him to resume his studies in high school. With the help of the court psychologist I made the necessary arrangements, and after about nine weeks of treatment, he was released to his home and allowed to go to school. He was accepted very kindly by the teachers, but he felt rather embarrassed. He worked very well, but told me that when he stood before the teachers he was inhibited and ill at ease.

At home he got along very well with his sister and his mother. His stepfather was very kind to him but he felt ill at ease with him. They had little to say to each other. When he wanted to go out he asked permission of his mother who referred him to the stepfather who sent him back to his mother, which led to some friction. Also he had no money. He was badly in need of some clothes. The mother of the boy to whom he owed twenty dollars did not cease to make his life difficult. I had a talk with the parents to explain to them that the boy urgently needed some encouragement for his self-confidence. I pointed out that he was very well behaved and serious about his school work, and should be given some little freedom now.

I reduced the hours of treatment to three a week, and asked the probation department to try to provide him with some odd job from which he could earn some pocket money. A sym-

pathetic teacher was kind enough to lend the boy twenty dollars to repay the money he had stolen. He promised to repay the sum in weekly instalments as soon as he had obtained employment. His father had refused to give him any money. He was especially bitter and resentful about this failure. He concluded that he should forget about this man entirely; that was all there was to be done about it. He repeatedly complained that he felt embarrassed in public, in school, and especially when he had to address a teacher.

I soon found out that on several occasions he had absented himself from school in the middle of the day and gone to the beach. He had to stay in school longer hours each day as a punishment. I explained to him that he was beginning to run away again, so far not far away, but it was the same process: instead of finding a way to solve a difficulty, he ran away. It became very clear that he was running away from some problems in his relationships to adult men. He had reason to feel hatred and disrespect for his father; but his tension and embarrassment with his stepfather had not been clarified.

From his refusal to call him father, I suggested that perhaps he wished to deny that he was married to his mother. His troubles had started when his mother and stepfather were married, and when the little sister was born. I intimated that he was not only jealous of the little sister, but of the stepfather as well, for after all, he had intruded and spoiled the patient's life with the mother. Possibly he felt like an intruder at home because his stepfather had taken his place, and thus made him a stranger.

I now reminded him of the interview in which he had wanted to smash anyone who doubted that he had changed. Immediately afterwards he had reported that his stepfather did not believe in him. He acknowledged that he did not like the idea of his mother's marriage and, of course, he was jealous of his stepfather!

Then came dreams about the stepfather expressing hostile feelings toward him. I explained that, harboring such strong hidden attacking attitudes toward men, it was inevitable that

he should be inhibited and shy. The men sensed his underlying hostility and reacted accordingly.

Next he told me that the girl in school had been a great disappointment to him. She did not want to have anything to do with him anymore. He discussed with me whether it would be best for him to talk with her father, who was a kind but rather terrifying 'he-man', telling him that he could see the father's side of it, but that he must be given a chance to prove that he had reformed. I rather encouraged this idea, but he gave it up, saying, 'I haven't much use for girls anyhow'.

He knew all about sex but had never had a sexual experience. He liked to dance with girls in a dancing class in school, but as for a sexual relationship, that could wait until he married. He greatly resented that he did not have the use of an automobile. Distances are great on the West Coast, and there being no other means of transportation in the evening, girls will not go out with boys who have not a car. Despite the fact that he was a good driver and had never had the slightest accident during all the time he drove the stolen automobiles, his stepfather would not allow him to drive his car.

He masturbated, though not excessively, with fantasies of girls. On one occasion, without great resistance, he confessed that he had sexual fantasies about his mother. This explained, I told him, another aspect of his attitude toward his stepfather. If, 'behind the curtain', there is a hidden desire for mother, then father is felt to be a competitor for mother's love. As there is no possibility for gratification of such forbidden desires, it would be most natural for him to feel guilty in his stepfather's presence, and would contribute to the notion that he was not wanted in the home. He could easily imagine that his stepfather would not want him as a competitor for the mother. Unable to be aware of this, he nevertheless ran away from the situation and it might also explain why he ran away from school when he was embarrassed to meet the teachers.

His attitude at home and at school improved visibly and rapidly. Soon he told me proudly that he had been very good in a debate about the Constitution. He related happily that

he was not shy at all anymore and that his relationship with his stepfather was becoming better and better.

His own father he ceased considering a part of his life, with little emotional sacrifice. He simply felt that any other course was useless. When he was talking thus about his father, I said that we understood a great deal about what he ran away from and why, but that we had never discussed what he was running to. When he left the detention home a second time to join the criminal who wanted him to accompany him to Canada, I suspected that 'behind the curtain' this man represented his disappointing father, and that seeking this man had the double purpose of hoping to correct the disappointment, and proving to himself that he could not live with his father. To compare his father with a criminal was not so far-fetched as he had acted criminally toward his mother and toward him. I reminded him that after his last escapade he had not returned to the detention home but to his mother. This he confirmed, saying that very often on visits to his father, who was remarried and had children, he thought that it would be impossible for him to live with his father because of his character, and he was glad to be living in his mother's home. I added that in running away from mother he copied the behavior of his father who had frequently left home, making the mother very unhappy and worried. This imitation said, in effect, that he was worthless like his father.

Two dreams revealed that he had gained sufficient insight to block the repetitive compulsion. In one he had run away from home and found himself in a desolate place where there was no water, no food, no human being. 'It was terribly lonely.' I told him he was saying that running away does not solve anything; that it does not pay to run away. In a later dream, he was exercising with a punching bag. Everytime he punched the bag it came back and hit him in the face. 'You are telling yourself that punching does not pay because one just gets punched back', I commented.

He found a job which gave him some pocket money and began repaying the twenty dollars a teacher had loaned him.

Four months after the treatment started, I reduced his visits to me to one a week. Three weeks later I released him from treatment, the court dismissed his case, and he obtained a full-time job for the summer holidays. When I visited him sometime later, before coming east, he was happy and contented at home, balanced and well adjusted.

This case is simple and easy to reconstruct. We discover the underlying motive for a panic which impelled him to run away repeatedly. We learn from what he ran away; we are given reason to believe that the goal toward which he was running was a representation of his own father, and that his truancy had the meaning of an identification with the dissocial behavior of his father, and the psychic-economic value of undoing frustrations to which his father subjected him and his mother. At the same time he punished his mother for having neglected him in favor of the stepfather. Identification as a defense against frustrated cravings for love is a common mechanism in children, and one chiefly responsible for faulty character development. Its attraction as a 'way out' lies in the fact that it enables the child to act out what it suffers passively and this, we know, relieves tensions enormously.

Emotionally he feels let down by everyone. His father left him and did not take care of him; his mother had abandoned him in favor of the stepfather, who sees in him a stranger; his little half-sister took his place. He feels alone, nobody wants him, nobody loves him.

The twenty-dollar theft illustrates the mechanism which Freud describes in Criminality From a Sense of Guilt.[1] He contrives to be punished for theft to alleviate a sense of guilt originating in unconscious murderous impulses toward his sister and his stepfather, and in his œdipal fantasies toward his mother. Remarkable in this case is the relatively small degree of repression. Some of the most ego-alien instinctual strivings are conscious or close to the surface. But the idea and the appropriate feelings are disconnected, isolated, as we find them

[1] Freud: Coll. Papers, IV, pp. 342–344.

to be in compulsion neurosis. The whole dissocial behavior pattern has a compulsive structure. This is bound to be true in very many cases of juvenile delinquency.

Usually I try in treating the adolescent suffering from dissocial disturbances to keep as closely to the technique of psychoanalysis as it is practically possible. I know that as long as we keep to the appropriate psychoanalytic technique, we are on firm ground. It enables us to anticipate reactions to our therapeutic activity and control the situation, or at least we can do so to a great degree. When we modify the psychoanalytic technique, we are experimenting and must be prepared for surprises. Unfortunately, in the majority of these cases, unmodified psychoanalysis would lead us nowhere. The patients are obstinately passive and demand activity from the analyst. At the root of every disturbance which is acted out in dissocial behavior, we find strong feelings of frustration and disappointment to which the patient reacts with obstinacy. If we do not quickly succeed in convincing him of our ability and willingness to help him, and impress him with our perception of his inner problems, we will lose the opportunity to achieve anything. We are compelled to be active in order to get his confidence.

If we succeed in establishing a strong, confident, positive transference which survives temporary hostile, stubborn attitudes, we may expect to achieve quick therapeutic results. Without such a transference, we will never succeed. We must, in addition, be prepared to give active assistance. As Heinrich Heine wrote of The Rats (the underprivileged): 'They listen only to bread logic and sausage arguments'. You have to prove that you want to help them, that you are not just another policeman or other enemy. These patients will test by every possible means to see whether the therapist means what he says, including persistent attempts to provoke him to an angry punitive reaction.

Consistent kindness, devoid of sentimental weakness and without a trace of injustice or hostile emotional response, is the

appropriate attitude for dealing with adolescents. Furthermore, a constant appeal to the intelligence is an essential educational measure to enable them to gain an intellectual perspective of their dissocial emotional attitudes, and to acquire sufficient insight to be convinced that their behavior is pathological. Prerequisites to achieving this goal are success in relieving excessive anxiety, and in fortifying their self-confidence.

In the juvenile braggart with an exaggerated show of self-confidence, it is easy for us to see and to show the youngster that he is overcorrecting to dispel the anxiety arising from infantile feelings of helplessness which he tries to hide from himself and us. Under certain circumstances the therapist, having weighed the gains, will become an accomplice for the time being, and for a specific purpose. To convince the patient that he is strong enough to cope with his difficulties and agree to face the consequences of what he has done, we must convince him, when necessary, that we will stand behind him at every step. This achieved, the first decisive step toward maturity has been taken. This, the preparatory part of the treatment, is in the nature of a condensed, scientifically oriented education. Exigencies peculiar to these cases require a procedure that cannot wait for ultimate explanations. As soon as possible, however, the technique of psychoanalysis is introduced.

The frequent choice of juvenile delinquency as a symptom raises a question of fundamental importance. Thousands of young people run away every year for obviously pathological reasons. In the United States alone there are about two hundred and fifty thousand transient boys and girls. This is an enormous reservoir of criminality. The current methods of mistreating these sick youths are of a kind that leaves scarcely any other outcome except criminal careers.

The choice of running away seems at first to be an outspoken contradiction to the tendency of youth to cling to infantile dependency and to become independent very reluctantly. When a home situation is objectively intolerable one might conclude that running away from it is logical. Or, as was partly true in the case presented, when the anxieties originate

in strong unconscious murderous and incestuous impulses, running away is an understandably appropriate defense mechanism. But we are not satisfied with such explanations alone. There must be an enormous pleasure factor involved in the choice of this symptom, considering all the hardships and difficulties that are repeatedly endured. One of the unconscious motives is expressed in an old German jingle for children which reads:

Hänschen klein
Ging allein
In die weite Welt hinein.
Stock und Hut
Passt ihm gut
Er ist wohlgemut.
Aber Mama weinet sehr
Hat sie doch kein Hänschen mehr.
Da besinnt
Sich das Kind
Kehret Heim geschwindt.

The child goes away but is prepared to streak for home again when mother cries for him; or he runs away to punish mother and test her love by force or by threat. Our patient displayed this mechanism in his excursion in the kiddie car, later repeated it in running away from the detention home.

A second motive or gain is imitation of the father (identification). The hat and cane of the old German rhyme are replaced in this country by the automobile as a symbol of virility.

The romantic urge to become a hero, or, in the case of girls, to find a hero, is strongly narcissistic. The hero is the early idealized image of the omnipotent father. Vagrant itineracy being an escape from all ties and restrictions and from the demand for social adaptation, recreates, furthermore, the fantasy of omnipotence and of unlimited infantile gratification and irresponsibility, a regression to the paradise of early childhood. In the inner struggle of adolescence, if the drive to attain adult satisfactions is blocked by anxiety, there is an attempt to regain the lost gratifications on the road back. The

unknown and unexplored world is also the mother's body, especially her sexual organ. In our patient's childhood, it found a displaced expression in the wholesale dissection of animals.

The magic attractiveness of running away goes back to the childhood of mankind when humanity was in a migratory stage, a state of civilization which many tribes have never been able to abandon. In sleep and in waking fantasies, the fascination of taking to the road has a universal attractiveness. Many people do, and many more imagine they would be happy living in trailers. A thorough investigation of the phenomenon of transiency and truancy, in all its psychological aspects, would be of greatest value to the study of the problem of delinquency. Everything I have so far found in the abundant literature on this subject is an accumulation of rather superficial sociological and statistical data without any insight into the real nature of this most urgent problem.

Summary

The technique of dealing with juvenile delinquents requires a preparatory period in which the analyst has to be active in order (a) to gain confidence for establishing a strong, positive transference; (b) to drain off the excess of anxiety; (c) to fortify the badly damaged self-confidence, and permit the controlling and restraining forces of the ego to operate. This accomplished, the usual technique of psychoanalysis is then employed.

Society's present method of mishandling these cases reflects the total psychological blindness and prejudice which characterize its approach to the treatment of all criminal offenders. Boys are pursued by the police, usually handcuffed when apprehended, thrown into jail with drunkards and habitual criminals, then exposed to the strange ritual of court procedure which they do not understand, and which does not understand them. So they are forced into attitudes of obstinacy and bitterness, and the chief accomplishment of the costly machinery of law enforcement is that it becomes an efficient mill which grinds out more and more criminals.

STIGMATA OCCURRING IN THE COURSE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

BY WILLIAM NEEDLES (NEW YORK)

The phenomenon of stigmatization, whether reputedly in historical figures such as St. Francis of Assisi or directly observed in neurotic individuals, has usually been regarded with considerable scepticism. Psychiatric textbooks urge extreme caution in estimating the phenomenon as other than deliberate fraud. It seems worth while, therefore, to report an instance which occurred during psychoanalytic therapy, thus affording an opportunity for direct observation.

A man of thirty-one, who had been in analysis about five months, telephoned me at my home one evening in a state of great agitation and asked if he might come down to see me immediately because he was bleeding from the pores of his hands. He soon arrived, with many apologies for disturbing me and with a bouquet of flowers for my wife. He then held out his hands for me to examine. Since he had shown rather erratic and unpredictable behavior throughout the course of his analysis, I apparently underestimated the importance of the episode for I failed at the time to record exactly what I saw. To the best of my recollection there were several minute punctate and linear areas of reddish discoloration on the palms of the hands. Constrained by the wish not to compromise the analytic situation by excessive zeal yet bent on determining whether these were mere artefacts, I limited my investigation to establishing simply that the spots did not disappear when washed with water. Whether they would have faded under pressure of glass I did not test.

The patient spontaneously associated the phenomenon which had so terrified him with a dream he had related six days earlier.

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'A man in some factory was very sick. He was bleeding to death. Yet he was on his feet, talking and walking!' The dream terminated with a seminal emission.

At this stage of the analysis and for a long time thereafter, the patient showed great reluctance toward studying his infrequent dreams and, if left to his own devices, would immediately pass on to other topics. When in this instance his attention had been recalled to the dream his associations were: 'The man had heart failure; my heart beat fast talking to my father. Blood was spouting out; sperm coming out of the penis.' The factory reminded him of the printing plant where he worked with men about whom he had had fleeting sexual fantasies, and he asked if in the dream he had desired intercourse with a man.

The day after the visit to my home he reported that the spots had disappeared and, doubtless influenced by my ill-concealed scepticism, he surmised that they had probably been produced by contact with printer's ink. The connection between his 'bleeding' and the bleeding man in the dream prompted further recollections. Certain fellows at the office had chided him as being responsible for an illness of his assistant. He had been held culpable when a girl, whom he had ceased courting, developed a hyperthyroidism. Months later, when the stigmata reappeared, he recalled still another item that had hitherto been omitted. The first episode had occurred on a night when he was visiting his favorite sister whose husband was away on business. He believes he might have entertained the idea of intercourse with her and have become panicky as a result. Finally, about five months after the original incident while discussing his wife's menstrual period, the patient reverted to the dream once more to offer as a determining factor a story he had heard about a girl who bled profusely as a result of intercourse.

The second appearance of stigmata is known to me only from the patient's account. One morning as he and his wife were lying about shortly after having had intercourse, they received a visit from a furniture dealer. During the visit the

patient found himself talking vociferously to this man, enjoining upon him the necessity to be more aggressive in such a world as we live in. As he spoke 'blood' suddenly appeared on his hands 'because', he said, 'I had on my hands the responsibility for giving this man a pep talk'. He recalled that he had reacted with anxiety to the appearance of the man, who for some reason reminded him of his father. He had had the impulse to throw a knife at the visitor which brought to mind similar acts of violence of his father when angered. This reminded him of a beating his father had given him when he and some other boys were caught at sexual play with a little girl.

Stigmatization occurred the third time a few months later during an analytic session. The patient had related the dream:

> 'I was sick in bed. Two women came and said I was not sick. They got me up and walked me around. They took me to a gym. One fellow there said, "Get into the game". I was shaky. I grabbed hold of something to support myself; it was glass; it came down on me. My head and hands were cut. I showed them I could not play; my hands were cut; the finger was cut off or the nail was at the middle of the finger. I was scared. I said to the man, "Look, my prick is cut off".'

His associations were: 'When I have sharp pains in my head, it feels as though I were bleeding to death. I had blood on my hands. I almost lost a finger as a child; I cut myself with a razor blade. I avoid going with men. When the boss talked to me, I got pain in the back of my spine. The two women remind me of sexual intercourse—my sisters—my mother and sister telling me to go to work; that I'm a bum, a tramp, faking. My wife had some girls up Tuesday; she told me to go to the gym. There are fellows there and we play. I want to have intercourse with a fellow in the dream, so I develop pain. He was a friend of the girl's. I was afraid of him. I don't trust him, so I swooned. The bottle falls on me. The finger represents the penis; it is broken. I cannot play.'

At this point the patient apparently sensed something in his hands for he raised them as he spoke, examined them, and then extended them toward me for my scrutiny. As he did so he said, 'I came to you with blood on my hands that night; there is blood here now; so I won't masturbate'. I saw several spots on the palm of the right hand. There were three distinct lesions. One, near the base of the index finger consisted of a tiny, circular, pinkish area. Another was a fine, linear, reddish discoloration in a palmar crease near the wrist. The third, also small, resembled a spidery angioma in the region of the fourth metacarpophalangeal joint.

The patient continued: 'I masturbated with the right hand, so there is no blood on the left. I seem to be fearful of sexual relationships. The blood just came out again; blood on my hands; blood on my conscience. The purpose is to harm myself, to cut myself when sex seems imminent. Sex with D. [his wife] is sadistic. I must harm to get sexual satisfaction.' Other associations dealt with his fear of men and his development of innumerable symptoms as defenses. The stigmata disappeared shortly after he left the office.

The patient was brought up in a Jewish home of extreme poverty, squalor, ignorance and discord. His father—allowing for an element of exaggeration in the patient's account—was doubtless an irresponsible, impetuous, tyrannical man who in his outbursts of rage might wield a knife or throw a chair at the offending member of the family. He had been unfaithful to his wife and had deserted his family, running off to Europe on two occasions. Whenever he found it convenient to return he had apparently been welcomed back. Toward him the patient was aware only of feelings of fear, hatred, or contempt. In his early years he could do little more than flinch before an expected onslaught. In later years he resisted his father's attempts to terrify the household, threatening to beat him to make him subside. An indication of the extremes reached is afforded by the fact that when the patient, traveling out of town on business received word that trouble was brewing at

home, he was seized with such apprehension for his mother's safety that he dropped what he was doing and rushed home.

The mother was portrayed as a meek well-meaning and long-suffering individual, overwhelmed by circumstance. She had been infatuated with her husband who before he assumed the more prosaic occupation of house painter had been a musician. She had raised a brood of eight children through years of privation. The patient's attachment to her had been very strong. There had been numerous fantasies of removing her from her sordid environment and creating a new world for her in which she would be content. Her death, when he was twenty-five years of age, was a great shock, particularly since he reproached himself for having hastened her end by upbraiding her for some triviality on the very day of her death. He had been unable to accept her death as a finality. He berated the physician for relaxing his efforts to revive her, jumped astride her body and applied artificial respiration until he was exhausted.

As the analysis progressed the ambivalent attitude toward the mother was revealed. It emerged that he had not condoned her passivity in regard to the father; he resented her apportioning the choicest food in the house to him while she gave the children the leftovers; he blamed her for bearing child after child, heedless of her inability to give them adequate care after their arrival; he censured her for not having enough moral stamina to leave a man who treated her so shabbily. Implicit in the condemnation was the charge that she had exploited the childbearing function to hold her man and that she favored him, to the prejudice of the children. 'Because he could satisfy her sexually, she was more drawn to him than to us', he once directly expressed it. And at another time, 'I loved my mother for a lot of things, though the hate over sex matters predominated.' Strong feelings of hostility toward those on whom he was first dependent for love created feelings of guilt and anxiety, later repeated in wide fluctuations between love and hate in his relations with other people.

The patient early assumed the rôle of father in the family

constellation aided by the remissness of the father in fulfilling his obligations. At the age of nine he had already begun to contribute to the family budget by working after school. Entering business after he left school, in contrast to his immaturity in other spheres of activity, he managed to forge ahead steadily and progressively increase his earning capacity. Gradually the welfare of the family devolved almost entirely upon him. He continued contributing a disproportionate amount to the household after it was composed of working adults. Though he had not completed high school, he was solicitous that his younger brothers and sister attain to higher education. After his mother's death the scope of his parental activities seemed to have widened. He would, for example, shop for food, prepare meals, although his sister could well have managed these details. He allowed himself to be taken advantage of; he was constantly harassed by his brothers' unconcerned appropriation of various articles of his clothing. This extreme solicitude permeated his relationships outside the family. He was always giving advice to people or lending them money, despite a very strong inclination to save. He found it extremely difficult to discharge an inefficient or insolent employee.

Evidence of neurosis is manifest in the persistence of enuresis until at least the age of six. Opportunities to witness the primal scene were abundant. The account came through against great resistance and with striking amnesic gaps. When the fragments were pieced together he recalled seeing his father's face inflamed with excitement, and hearing his mother's moans which he ascribed to the punishment she was receiving. He himself felt feverish, terrified, and longed to escape; he felt as though a band were constricting his legs; he became dizzy and seemed to sway in his bed. 'Intercourse between my parents must have scared me; it must have represented death to me.' At one time he thought these incidents might have occurred between seven and thirteen years of age; at another time he placed them prior to the birth of his brother, seven years his junior. Since it was the practice of

the parents to keep the youngest child in the same room or even in the same bed with them until the next child arrived to take its place, the earlier period is quite plausible. At first he questioned tentatively whether he had had any fears lest his voyeurism be punished and whether he had actually been beaten. Later he recalled more definitely that he had feared his father might choke, stab, or kill him, or that he might use him sexually as he did his mother. Finally he recalled that he actually had been beaten for his peeping activities.

Allegedly at the instigation of an older sister, A., he was at the age of nine led to perform the sex act with her in imitation of their parents. He recalled vividly his preference for another older sister, M., who shared the bed with A., but she rebuffed him. The fact that M. was fair-complexioned like the mother, while A. was dark was mentioned by the patient as noteworthy.

When he was nine or ten he shared a bed with a boarder in the home. Some sort of sexual play went on in the course of which the boarder would place his penis against the boy's. The patient had a sensation of drawing air into his penis which may have been a condensation with another bit of early sexual experimentation in which he had blown air into his penis with a syringe. At first the patient denied any gratification from these acts. Later he admitted that he had enjoyed it, that it had recurred with his willingness, but that he had subsequently tried to erase it from his memory. He considered himself tainted by the experience, and beyond the pale with 'nice' girls. When the boarder left to get married the patient had been greatly upset, fearing for some reason that his secret would now emerge. He then went on a wild rampage and managed to get hurt physically in all sorts of ways. This impulsion to self-injury has been a recurrent feature in his development.

He was assailed by most powerful homosexual impulses against which he had to wage an unremitting battle. Characteristically, he had first represented himself as an individual harassed by too many women in his life and seeking aid for this predicament. He had fugitive thoughts of intimacies with men, of touching a man's penis, or of a man touching his.

He would develop anxiety in the presence of men, often accompanied by a peculiar tingling sensation in his penis. When he saw the play, Oscar Wilde, he became panicky and thought of committing suicide. He explained his immediate need to defæcate or urinate whenever he was frightened as the equivalent of masturbation, and masturbation itself as providing reassurance that he was not a woman. Because of such fears he had moved from a bedroom which he shared with a younger brother and was, at the beginning of the analysis, sleeping in the same room with his youngest sister, aged nineteen. Protective paranoid elaborations to the effect that men were hostile to him and would take every opportunity to harm him were not lacking. His attachment to women proved to be pseudo attachments, sporadic raids to prove to himself that he was a man. When marriage loomed as a prospect he repeatedly beat a hasty retreat, breaking off the relationship. His heterosexuality too was inhibited in its aim. He would lie on top of a woman and reach an orgasm without attempting penetration. Joking fantasies, as when he said to his wife, 'we girls must get up early this morning', or slips of the tongue as when he substituted vagina for penis betrayed his ambiguous sexuality. There were various dreams of the unconscious wish to perform fellatio.

The analyst was soon identified with the truculent father. At times the difficulties appeared insurmountable. On two occasions the analysis was broken off on pretexts. A focal point for the resistance developed around the problem of whether or not he should get married, a step which he deemed it imperative to take. Marriage, in addition to providing an escape from his parasitic family, represented a protection against homosexuality in general and the homosexual transference in particular. Despite warnings about the motivation, he married only to rue the step a short time later. The gesture of bringing flowers for my wife had been made on the assumption that I was married because 'being an analyst, you must therefore be a normal man, and therefore must be married'.

Temperamentally he was most mercurial, constantly shifting

from one extreme to the other. Asserting himself, as he did spasmodically, led to fear of being punished, castrated. He defended himself from this anxiety by avoiding competition and subsiding into submission which succeeded only in evoking the masochistic homosexual danger and another outburst of aggressiveness. His partial identification with the aggressor (father) was an unsuccessful defense mechanism, a source of anxiety. He feared to get married lest he abuse his wife as his father had abused his mother, and dreaded that he might injure his wife by his sexual violence.

His transference was for the most part extremely passive and dependent with complaints that he did not know enough to solve his problems himself and that he needed directions from me. Or his compliance took the form of outdoing the analyst in stressing the importance of psychogenic factors, not only in regard to his own innumerable conversion symptoms, but also in relation to anyone else's illness that he happened to hear about no matter what its nature. Under this guise of deference lurked considerable hostility. After a session which had terminated with the patient roundly abusing analysts as fakers and charlatans, he turned as he left and meekly asked if he might have a few of my cards to give to his friends who might need my services.

Several months prior to the first appearance of the stigmata the patient had witnessed the performance of a hypnotist who, doubtless stimulated by his inquisitiveness, told him that he knew of a man who had been analyzed for three years and then had become a lover of men. The incident occurred while the patient and his wife were in the company of a former friend of hers who more or less casually put his arm around her. The patient became uneasy. He felt that the man had sinister designs, that he was trying to transfix him with his gaze. He, in turn, stared back and a battle of eyes ensued. That night he dreamed that wanting to change himself into a girl he was trying to get himself into a woman's clothes. He awoke greatly disturbed. He talked of his fears of homosexuality saying that if he ever had intercourse with a man he would kill him-

self. He added that in the dream he became a woman to protect himself, since if he were a woman a man would not harm him. The night following he felt like committing suicide. He drove his car recklessly.

A professional hypnotist once tried his skill upon him at some lodge meeting. The patient defied him to do so boasting that no man since his father could get him under his spell. Nevertheless the hypnotist suggested that he would limp on one leg and to his surprise the patient later thought that he actually did.

His wife's brother and sister-in-law spent one night at his home. The two women shared the bedroom and he slept with his brother-in-law in the living room. Suddenly he developed a pounding in his head, a pain in the spine, and the sensation of a constricting band around his legs. The next morning he felt very sick. He did not want to leave his bed, but his wife, ignoring his complaints, insisted that he should. When he did so his heart seemed to stop beating and he feared he was going to faint. He was moreover overwhelmed with a strong desire to attack someone. 'Hereafter no one takes my bed from me', he declared vehemently. The somatic sensations were similar to those experienced in the primal scene. The present instance was a state of homosexual panic from being left to sleep with a man. This recalls the dream preceding the third episode of stigmatization. There he was contriving separation from his wife to be with men (gymnasium).

The usual association of stigmatization with states of religious ecstasy requires a word about the religious attitudes of the patient. His father quite obviously was entirely lacking in piety. He spoke of his mother as a religious person which doubtless meant that she observed the rituals and ceremonials. He had attended a Hebrew school for a time but with considerable resentment, and he soon broke away from the orthodox tradition not without indications of lingering qualms. Once when discussing a self-castration dream, he thought it the result of having ridden on a high holiday. The fear of loss of his penis reminded him of circumcision and recalled that a rabbi

in the Hebrew school had hit him over the hand for some disobedience.

Diagnostically I consider the stigmata to be conversion symptoms in a case of anxiety hysteria with strong latent homosexual tendencies. Their sudden appearance and quick disappearance argue in favor of transient, localized vasodilatations rather than petechial hemhorrages. Their psychological importance is their significance to the patient to whom they meant 'blood'.

This symptom seems to have had multiple determinants. First, it was the symbolic representation of 'blood on my hand', a phrase which the patient used repeatedly, an acknowledgment of destructive, sadistic impulses. The relentless superego, not believing that actions speak louder than impulses, and not distinguishing between wish and deed, held him guilty of sins that 'not all the perfumes of Arabia' can wash away.

The patient was constantly recoiling from and punishing himself for his aggressive tendencies. In addition to fantasies of self-mutilation there had been numerous occurrences of acting them out. The first stigmatization followed a dream in which a man was bleeding to death, and several associations to that dream dealt with various fancied or real aggressions. The second followed aggressive behavior toward a male visitor. By condign punishment, 'blood for blood', the superego was appeased and the moral slate wiped clean. Protection against the unpredictable consequences of his sadism lay in directing it against himself. The original and persisting object of his repressed hostility was the father, and the blood guilt that was being atoned related to him or his surrogates. That it is a sexualized aggression is stated in the patient's equation blood=semen.

With reference to the localization of the stigmata the patient in the third episode stated: 'I came to you with blood on my hand that night. There is blood here now so I won't masturbate. I masturbated with the right hand, so there is no blood on the left.' It is noteworthy that while urinating he fre-

quently developed pain commencing in the hand which held his penis. He adopted the device of sitting down to urinate, the implications of femininity in this procedure not escaping him.

The hand being an equally common symbol for the penis and the vagina (in masturbation), the stigmatization represents castration ('Look, my prick is cut off'). He was beset with castration anxiety to such an extent that it brought him perilously near to forswearing women altogether. In childhood he had overheard a discussion about hermaphrodites and that a man could change into a woman through some very painful process. He had terrifying dreams in which a man came to 'get' him. Later in life he had been obsessed with the idea that his penis was unduly small and that he could remedy this condition by masturbation. In a dream his father actually appeared as the castrating agent, cutting off his youngest daughter's hands.

All three episodes of stigmatization were precipitated by situations reminiscent of the œdipus. In the first, he had had the fantasy of intercourse with his sister while her husband was away; the second followed the sudden intrusion of a man who reminded him of his father, shortly after he and his wife had had intercourse; the third, when women forced him to be active, pushed him into competition with the boss-father.

The stigmatization and the dream of the amputated finger express the wish to be castrated which reinforces the primary fear of castration. The dream also fulfils the function of punishment in deference to the superego. An additional economic factor in accordance with the riddance principle (Rado) is the impulse to free himself, once and for all, of the troublesome organ. This self-castrating impulse manifested alloplastically in numerous ways found direct expression on one occasion when, in a moment of resentment toward a girl, he impetuously had intercourse with a prostitute without prophylaxis, promptly acquiring gonorrhea. He took medicines in the expectation that they would abolish his sexual urge. He frequently expressed the wish that he might dispense with sexual gratification for all time and was hopeful that psychoanalysis would achieve this for him.

The renunciation of masculinity leads to feminine identification which also found expression in the stigmatization. In addition to menstruation, he had been a witness of childbirths in his home; furthermore he recalled vividly that in childhood, when his mother had been critically ill, he had seen a physician examine her vaginally and withdraw his hand covered with blood. A story of profuse bleeding resulting from the defloration of a girl had also impressed itself upon him. His conception of femininity as suffering came to him early from his mother. Numerous of his conversion symptoms were identical with hers. When he suffered from nasal catarrh he likened his nose to a vagina discharging mucous. More pertinent to the stigmatization, it occurred to him that when he masturbated it was as if his hand were a vagina, a dual sexual rôle also hinted at by the incident of insufflation of the penis with a tube in childhood. By bleeding, by being a woman, the patient hoped through identification to gain love and escape the father's wrath.

Finally, the stigmatization represents an exhibitionistic display of his wounds for the purpose of enlisting sympathy and averting attack. It is consistent with much of his behavior, from assuming a doleful countenance when applying for a job because he thought it enhanced his chances, to developing signs of illness whenever he was in a critical situation.

The history of stigmatization is treated exhaustively by W. Jacobi in a monograph, *Die Stigmatisierten.* There is no recorded instance of the phenomenon prior to the thirteenth century. So far as is known St. Francis of Assisi in 1224 was the first to show the signs of stigmatization. The account of Sabatier, cited by Krumbhaar, runs as follows:

> 'In the rays of the rising sun . . . he suddenly perceived a strange figure. A seraph with outspread wings flew toward him from the edge of the horizon and bathed his soul in raptures unutterable. In the center of the vision appeared a cross and the seraph was nailed upon it. When the vision disappeared he felt sharp sufferings mingling with the ecstacy of the first moments. Stirred to the very depths of his being,

he was anxiously seeking the meaning of it all, when he perceived on his body the "Stigmata of the Crucified".

'Straightway in the hands and feet of St. Francis began to appear the marks of the nails, in such wise as he had seen them in the body of Jesus Christ, the Crucified, the which had shown himself to him in the likeness of a seraph; and thus his hands and feet appeared to be pierced through the middle with nails and the heads of them were in the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet outside the flesh and their points came out on the back of his hands and feet, so that they seemed bent back and riveted in such fashion that under the bend and riveting which all stood out above the flesh, might easily be put a finger of the hand, as in a ring, and the heads of the nails were round and black. Likewise in the right side appeared an image of a wound made by a lance, unhealed and red and bleeding, which afterwards oft-times dropped blood from the sacred breast of St. Francis and stained with blood his tunic and hose.'

Another historically important case is that of Louise Lateau, a Belgian peasant girl who was born in 1850. She is described as a recluse who became an ecstatic and saw visions. Her stigmata began with bleeding from the left side of the chest on a Friday in April, 1868, and reappeared every Friday for several years. In addition to the original site blood exuded from her hands and feet. A physician, Worlomont, who was commissioned to investigate the case was convinced that the weekly stigmatization and the ecstasy were real, though other claims such as that she had not slept, drunk, or eaten for four years, or had had no passage of urine or fæces for over three were proved to be false. It was found that the hemorrhages continued even when the hands were bandaged, but paper lining the bandages revealed numerous pin-pricks. The Belgian Academy of Medicine decided to suspend judgment in this case.

In a case reported by Bianchi in 1926 the stigmata, sanguineous sweats on the feet and elbows, had similarly appeared every Friday in March beginning in 1923.

More recently the case of Therese Neumann of Konnersreuth, Germany, has excited attention. She was observed by Ewald, a professor of psychiatry, who reported his findings in 1927. This girl had shown conversion hysterical symptoms, including blindness, before the stigmatization occurred. She manifested the classical five wounds. At times these wounds oozed blood constantly while later on the oozing occurred only on Fridays. Her signs persisted up to the time that Klauder examined her nine years later. He was impressed with the genuineness of the syndrome.

Dr. Imbert Gourbeyre in 1894 collected 145 cases of persons who had received these stigmata. Alexander Macalister, Professor of Anatomy at the University of Cambridge, enumerated in his article on stigmatization in the Encyclopedia Britannica 90 instances, 18 males, 72 females, and about 30 more of which there were no particulars recorded. Some had open wounds, others merely bloody exudates or colored circles in the classical spots; occasionally there was a lesion at the forehead (from the crown of thorns) and, in one case, in the mouth (sponge and hyssop). Jacobi in 1923 found 300 recorded instances of stigmatization, of which only 41 occurred in men.

The phenomenon has also been described among Mohammedans who manifest on their bodies the wounds that their prophet received in battle.

Stigmatization has been recorded in states not associated with religious ecstasy. A girl who saw her brother punished by having to run a gauntlet soon thereafter exhibited bleeding on her back at the same site as her brother's wounds. The witness of an encounter between a French and a Russian soldier became terribly frightened and soon developed bleeding wounds corresponding in location to those of the French soldier.

So far as they are authentic these cases establish the fact that stigmatization can occur through the mechanisms of identification and autosuggestion. The religious history and the cultural limitations of my patient fairly well rule out any possibility that he was familiar with stigmatization as a variety

of religious experience. The subject was at no time discussed during his analysis.

More cogent evidence bearing on the production of disturbances in the skin by psychogenic factors is afforded by a study of effects produced by hypnosis. Bourru and Burot describe the case of a young man of twenty two, diagnosed as suffering from hystero-epilepsy with a psychogenic hemiplegia and hemianasthesia. In hypnosis the suggestion was given that at four P.M. he would bleed from the nose. He did. In a subsequent hypnotic session the experimenter traced his name on the forearms of the subject and suggested that at four P.M. he would bleed at those sites. Drops of blood appeared on the left side of the body but not on the right, the paralyzed side. These signs persisted for three months. The experiment was repeated by another physician, in the presence of numerous witnesses, with the same result. This time the suggestion had been that the bleeding occur immediately, during the hypnosis.

Heller and Schultz reported a case from the dermatological clinic of Herxheimer. The subject was an easily hypnotizable youth of nineteen. He was told that a glowing hot coin was being laid on the back of his hand and that a blister would appear; amnesia for the entire episode was likewise suggested to him. When observed three weeks later, he related that in the intervening time a blister had appeared every morning on the back of his hand and had been punctured daily by him. Following further suggestion the lesion cleared up in three days. To exclude the possibility of fraud he was admitted to the clinic and the experiment was repeated. He was told this time, as a coin was placed on his hand, that it would cause a burn and that a blister would form at five P.M. When the coin was removed a red area, the size and shape of the coin, was observed. A bandage was applied and sealed and the patient awakened. At five P.M. the patient was again hypnotized, the bandage unsealed, and a blister noted.

Forel believed that urticarial wheals could be produced in certain suggestible persons and attested to the fact that he had seen an instance of vesication produced in this way. Klauder

cites additional reports by Doswald, Kreibich, Sack and Kronfeld on cutaneous lesions produced by hypnotic suggestion. According to Klauder, in the days of Liebault, Charcot and Bernheim when hypnosis was much in vogue, all varieties of cutaneous lesions—erythema, vesicles, bullæ, papules, lesions resembling burns, ecchymoses, bloody exudates from previous dermographia, were all reported as produced through suggestion in hypnosis.

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AN ANAL SUBSTITUTE FOR GENITAL MASTURBATION IN A CASE OF PARANOID SCHIZOPHRENIA

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In the early psychoanalytic literature about the development of the libido, it was repeatedly stated that most of the libido of early infancy finds expression in oral drives. A part after infancy remains fixated on the oral zone but may undergo some transformation. In his paper, On the Transformation of the Instincts with Special Reference to Anal Eroticism [1], Freud described three possible fates of the anal component of the sexual instincts: it may undergo repression; be sublimated or transformed into character traits; find a place in the organization of mature sexuality characterized by genital primacy. He believed that these were not the only possibilities because the anal components probably contribute some energy to each succeeding stage of development, and because some anal drives survive untransformed. It would seem from this that the libido is initially attached chiefly to the oral zone and subsequently to other erotogenic zones. Residues remain attached to each pregenital aim, while the greater part is eventually fused into genitality.

Zilboorg recently evaluated this paper of Freud with special reference to oral drives [2], and expressed doubt as to the complete priority of oral drives over anal ones, believing that anal drives may be developing at the same time as the oral drives and thus are not derived entirely from previous oral drives. This would mean that anal drives are separately endowed with libido.

Whether libido is originally undifferentiated and is attached in succession to the different zones or whether the sources of the various libidinal aims are themselves differentiated, it is

1 Freud: *Coll. Papers*, II, pp. 165.

2 Zilboorg, Gregory: *Some Observations on the Transformation of Instincts.* This QUARTERLY, VII, 1938, p. 1.

generally agreed that impulses connected with one zone may obtain satisfaction or release by displacement to a different zone through regression when the primary mode of discharge has been inhibited [3]. It is also probable that the regression will accord with a previous pattern of behavior dependent on early fixations.

A clinical example of the establishment of anal substitutes for genital masturbation, frustrated by defense mechanisms in a psychosis, was furnished by observation of a thirty-eight-year-old man suffering from paranoid schizophrenia for about ten years, the latest four years in a mental hospital. Throughout his illness he has kept considerable contact with reality and has suffered no conspicuous deterioration of his general personality.

He was able to divulge limited parts of the content of his thought which he regarded as highly confidential. He retained some capacity for emotional relationships with the doctors, though this was of a somewhat formal character, chiefly an expression of his need for outside help and contacts which he had not entirely abandoned. This relationship to the doctors was encouraged and made use of therapeutically.

For many years he had believed that there was a gang whose purpose was to malign his high moral character by proving that he masturbated. The greater part of his time and energy were spent in trying to frustrate this gang. For this purpose he kept an accurate account of his nocturnal emissions and the supposed cause of each. He usually ascribed them to something in his food, either an indigestible unsuitable food or a subtle poison placed in his food for the purpose of causing the emissions. The emission was sometimes attributed to his being 'run down' thus impairing the strength of his mind to prevent his own 'double thought', by which he meant sexual associations. Seminal emissions were 'health upsets' which caused him to feel tired and weak. He also kept an accurate account of all the foods he ate, and during periods of intensified

[3] Sterba, Editha: *An Important Factor in Eating Disturbances of Childhood.* This QUARTERLY, X, 1941, p. 365.

suspicion, he would examine his food with the greatest of care, or refuse to eat for days at a time. He suspected the employees of the hospital who cooked or served food of being connected with the gang. Recently the gang had been succeeded by a more abstract 'pressure being brought on me not to do certain things'. To convince people that he had always lived up to a high moral code, he would often seek out one of the doctors or the head nurse and raising his right hand would swear that he had never had relations with man, woman, or beast, and had not masturbated in ten years. As further proof, he asserted that whenever he had an emission the doctors could easily detect it in his face. When more confidential he would admit masturbation while in college, certain exhibitionistic indiscretions, and even, during recent years, permitting sexual thoughts to cause an erection but not an orgasm. The last he justified as research to determine that his penis was large enough to be effective. He declared that his penis was extremely sensitive, and to guard against emissions he lubricated the glans with oil to prevent irritation. He admitted a strong sexual urge, and stated vague plans for marrying though actually he depended mostly on his mother for feminine companionship.

Among his other preoccupations were abdominal pains, supposedly due to a tender appendix, and an irritated rectum, and a strong conviction that he had cancer that had progressed from the appendix to the rectum. His father had died of cancer of the throat. He asked that in the investigation of this pain he be proctoscoped only by certain doctors who were all fatherly types.

Most of his current conversation dealt with rumors which had allegedly been started by some such triviality as a shiftiness of his eyes on seeing certain people, a faltering of his voice, an expression of his face, or someone's supposed estimation that he had stayed too long in the bathroom or finding in his room an article suggesting sexual misbehavior. The rumors were always to the effect that he was masturbating. Sometimes he said, 'The air is so thick [with rumors] you could cut it with a knife'.

He had the peculiar habit of plucking out pubic hairs while defæcating. He expelled flatus in the toilet or in bed only in a most 'fastidious' manner. The feeling that he was observed in either of these habits led to a fresh crop of rumors and protestations of his innocence, as well as his right to do these things, in the same way that he protested against the restrictions of his everyday life, his lack of feminine companionships and sexual opportunities.

First attributing his sexual desire and the nocturnal emissions to food he had eaten, he later believed that by means of food he was being poisoned and made to have an excessive number of emissions. Superimposed on this was the delusion that the food he ate caused a great deal of intestinal gas which expelled as flatus led to more 'rumors'. However if he did not eat sufficiently he would not be able to control his thoughts and so would have more emissions. His thoughts about them could be easily detected in his face and he would be again suspected of masturbation.

Summary

There is apparent a close association in the patient's ideation between his gastrointestinal and his sexual functions, and of the latter, masturbation particularly. Pulling out of pubic hairs while defæcating is an equivalent to masturbation (masturbation=defæcation). This close relationship between anal and genital functioning is confirmed by the patient's fantasy that what he eats causes erections, and that the anal expulsion of intestinal gas leads to rumors that he is masturbating. People know (projection) that he is masturbating even though genital masturbation has long been inhibited. It would seem that here, as in a case recently reported by Kaufman [4], food represents the father whom the patient is trying to incorporate. This incorporation is the source of the patient's high moral code. It enables him to feel that he controls his thoughts, but through a return of the repressed it

[4] Kaufman, M. Ralph: *A Clinical Note on Social Anxiety.* Psa. Rev., XXVIII, No. 1, 1941.

leads also to sexuality and nocturnal emissions. The food in its course through the intestines is looked upon as a dangerous foreign body, first as a poisonous food, later as the cause of abdominal pains, gas, and cancer of his intestines. When expelled as flatus, it gives rise to rumors that he is masturbating. In this psychotic process the patient has transformed genital impulses into substitutive anal gratifications. The threat (sex) has extended (regression) from his appendix (penis) to his rectum (anus).

TYPES OF FEMALE CASTRATION REACTION

BY EMELINE P. HAYWARD (NEW YORK)

Since a little girl is born with a genital apparatus that lacks the conspicuousness of the male genitals, she is usually filled with extraordinary interest when at an early period in her life she observes a boy's penis for the first time. At this time she may conclude that part of her body has been removed. This gives rise to the unconscious attitudes and fantasies which comprise what is known as the female castration complex. Horney [1] disagrees with this formulation. She is inclined to believe that dissatisfaction with womanhood serves merely as a pretext and is not the dynamic force behind the formation of the female castration complex. She agrees that the little girl feels a sense of inferiority when she compares herself to a boy because she is subjected to restrictions in the sphere of gratifying certain pregenital instinct components. As the little girl actually is at a disadvantage in this respect, penis envy is an almost invariable phenomenon in the lives of female children. Horney, however, questions whether the castration complex is based on this. She suggests instead that the roots of the female castration complex lie first, in the girl's identification with the father and second, in a fantasy that the girl has suffered castration through an imaginary love relation with the father. As the case material which I am about to present does not particularly support these hypotheses of Horney, I shall revert to the earlier supposition that the female castration complex is based on penis envy.

It is generally acknowledged that the girl's reaction to the castration complex determines the development of certain character traits. Abraham [2] states that the neurotic transforma-

[1] Horney, Karen: *On the Genesis of the Castration Complex in Women.* Int. J. Psa., V, 1924, p. 50.

[2] Abraham, Karl: The Female Castration Complex. In his *Selected Papers.* London: Hogarth Press, 1927.

tions originating in the female castration complex may be divided into two groups. One, the 'wish-fulfilment' type, shows a strong, emotionally toned, but not conscious desire to adopt the male rôle, the woman apparently living out an unconscious fantasy of possessing a penis. The other, the 'revengeful type', rejects the female rôle and has conscious or unconscious impulses for revenge on the privileged male. I feel that in both groups it is unnecessary to stress the unconscious nature of these drives. I have observed women of the wish-fulfilment type who are fully conscious of their desire to assume the masculine rôle in one sense or another and, similarly, a patient of the revengeful type who was completely aware of her cravings for revenge against the favored male.

In describing the wish-fulfilment type of woman, Abraham refers to those women who adopt the male rôle in erotic relations with other women, and those in whom the homosexuality does not break through to consciousness. In the latter, 'the repressed wish to be male is found in a sublimated form in the shape of masculine pursuits of an intellectual and professional character'. I would also include in this group the woman who seeks to get herself a penis by taking on a man of doubtful capabilities, running his life for him, pushing him into increasingly higher endeavors and thus using him as an acquired phallus. I have noted episodes of this kind in the histories of several career women, while they were on their way to achieving professional success. It is sometimes however a substitute for a career.

Considering Abraham's two types of women, one is forcibly struck by the difference in the clinical picture. The wish-fulfilment group includes the overt homosexual, the career woman and the woman who gets a penis by breathing manhood into some inept male. These women have, in one sense or another, acquired a functioning penis and may lead fruitful lives. Joan Riviere points out that they may combine this with a completely 'feminine' type of existence. The life of the revengeful type of woman, however, is an embittered wasteland, all her energies being directed towards revenging herself

for her apparent defect. Yet both reactions have their roots in the castration complex, or taking it a step further back, in penis envy. In order to explain this variation one must hypothesize a developmental difference. I suggest that the revengeful type of reaction may arise if the little girl comes under the spell of her penis envy at a time when her libido development is either in the anal-sadistic stage or has reverted to this level because of her inability to cope with the vicissitudes of the œdipus. A girl who has already reached the phallic level before making the unfavorable comparison between her own and the male genital equipment will, if she fails to resolve the conflict, live out her penis envy according to one of the three reactions described for the wish-fulfilment type of woman.

Rado[3] has found that the time at which the penis is discovered is not a matter of indifference. He says, 'if the event occurs during a period of genital latency, it is probably elaborated differently. But if it occurs at a time when the girl is masturbating it is impossible for her to avoid being affected traumatically.' Lampl-de Groot[4] also concludes that the time at which the observation of sexual difference occurs is significant. If, for example, this observation is made during the pregenital period, it has no significance. If, however, it occurs during the phallic phase it is highly significant and becomes associated with a desire to possess the mother and get rid of the father.

It seems worthwhile considering the possibility that this experience may have emotional significance even before the phallic phase. It may be that the sight of the penis is insignificant in its effect unless it occurs at a time of emotional excitement. But this does not exclude the pregenital phases, although one could expect that the effect would be very different when the discovery takes place at one time rather than at another.

[3] Rado, Sandor: *Fear of Castration in Women.* This QUARTERLY, II, 1933, p. 425.

[4] Lampl-de Groot, Jeanne: *The Evolution of the Oedipus Complex in Women.* Int. J. Psa., IX, 1928, p. 332.

Ernest Jones[5], in discussing the development of female sexuality, does not subscribe to Abraham's grouping. He divides women into heterosexual and homosexual and includes among the latter those who retain their interest in men but set their hearts on being accepted as a man by men. 'To this group', he writes, 'belongs the familiar type of woman who ceaselessly complains of the unfairness of her lot and her unjust ill treatment by men.'[6] He further states that these women often show resentment, with castrative fantasies toward men.[7] My clinical experience makes me question this. The woman who retains her interest in men, but seeks to be accepted as one of them, is not the woman who complains of the unfairness of her lot as a woman, nor is she castrative. Like the homosexual woman, the 'masculine' or career woman has made a strong identification with her father, whereas, in those women whose attitude toward men is conspicuously revengeful and castrative I have not been able to demonstrate a real identification with the father. The two patients described by Lampl-de Groot had not identified with the father either. Despite unconscious homosexual drives uncovered by the analyses, neither had made an adaptation to life that could be called 'masculine'. They showed, rather, striking inhibition of actual accomplishment. This leads me to question Horney's hypothesis that the female castration complex is based, in part, on identification with the father. The analytic data from the 'castrative' women in my series suggests that, in their yearning for a penis, it is not the father's large one they crave, but the brother's little impotent one.

A number of women who have developed successful careers in competition with men, either had no brothers, or if there was a brother, the age difference was sufficient that the tiny girl could not have been repeatedly presented with the sight of her brother's genital. The women I have analyzed, whose lives

[5] Jones, Ernest: *Papers on Psychoanalysis.* Fourth Edition. Baltimore: William Wood & Co., 1938, pp. 556.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 565.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 570.

have been crippled by the rage and hostility inherent in their penis envy, all had brothers nearly their own ages and recalled having been bathed with these brothers when they were little. These women, therefore, as very small girls, had the opportunity to make repeated comparison between themselves and a male.

It is confusing to consider, as Abraham does, both these reactions as the common result of the female castration complex. The revengeful women gave ample evidence of their belief in their own castration, but I do not find such evidence in the wish-fulfilment type. Although these women wanted a penis and may have felt themselves to be deprived, they did not live their lives as if they believed they had been robbed or mutilated. They seem to have built their lives on the belief that the absence of the penis was no deterrent to success and that they saw no reason why their femininity should handicap them in any way, even though they were aware that it might be expected to do so. As a matter of fact, such women respond to references to the possible handicap of their sex with a negativism that spurs them on into doing the very things they are told they cannot do. Many of these women reach a point where they pride themselves on being as capable as men in anything not requiring physical strength and on having greater versatility. If it suits their purposes they can get any of the benefits of femininity without sacrificing the position they have won in living out the male rôle in a sublimated form. Far from accepting themselves as castrates, they demand that men accept them on a basis of equality. Rather than attribute both these reactions directly to the female castration complex, it would be more accurate to attribute the wish-fulfilment reaction to the penis envy which preceded the castration complex.

Joan Riviere [8] gives a very clear description of a few such women. She subscribes to Ernest Jones' classification of women as either homosexual or heterosexual. One accomplished woman, whom she describes in detail, had a compulsion

[8] Riviere, Joan: *Womanliness as a Masquerade.* Int. J. Psa., X, 1929, p. 303.

after every successful lecture to flirt with men who could have represented father figures. Riviere interprets this need as an attempt to placate the father for having castrated him by her intellectual prowess. Riviere does not describe in detail whether the effect of these flirtations was castrative. This patient's life with her husband before analysis was very different to what one meets in the lives of castrative women. She enjoyed complete satisfaction in intercourse and seemed not to have behaved in a castrative manner toward her husband. The anxiety with which this patient reacted to her intellectual attainments can be better interpreted as analogous to the homosexual boy's fear of having his father castrate him as punishment for daring to compete with him for the mother's love. In identifying with the father, the woman has achieved a penis without in the least having reduced her father's potency. When with this illusory penis she seeks to compete with father's real one she is at a disadvantage. She risks being unmasked as an imposter, of having the penis proven to be merely illusory, of actually being castrated. It is true that this 'castration' would not come as a punishment as it would in the case of the little boy; but it has the possibilities of provoking anxiety because the woman has, in a sense, built a large part of her life around this fantasied penis.

I have been interested to meet in several accomplished women evidences of this same kind of anxiety described by Riviere. They have a fairly realistic attitude toward their own abilities, and are not deterred from attempting new things by feelings of inadequacy; nevertheless each new project is approached with a sense of foreboding: 'The last project worked out fairly well. Maybe it was as good as people said. But next time my bluff will be called and I will be exposed as really not being the person people think I am.' Riviere would say that the woman would be exposed as a thief. I think this is not quite accurate. She fears rather that if someone were to strip her of her apparent masculinity she would then have to face the fact that she is 'only a woman' and give up the cherished dream of having a penis.

In studying the case material presented by Horney, Rado, Lampl-de Groot and Riviere it is difficult to establish accurate correspondence between these authors as they do not always distinguish, in discussing personality types, between what is manifest and what is latent. Despite Jones's grouping of women into homosexual and heterosexual types, we have come to reserve the diagnosis of homosexuality for the individual whose selection of a love object of the same sex is obligatory. If we do not narrow the term down in this way we are completely unable to discuss the mechanisms behind this variation. Similarly, it is conventional to reserve the diagnosis of perversion for the individual who must limit his sexual activity to one or more pregenital instinctual aims. We are not surprised when we find in dreams of patients who have no obligatory perversions, traces of these instinctual aims, nor do we then change our diagnoses. We recognize that there is a difference between the two types of patients, both in terms of libido development and in terms of prognosis. So, when women are classified as 'castrative' because in their dreams they have drives of this type, we are then at a loss to explain why the women, who exhibit castrative attitudes toward men, are so different. I believe that the clinical picture is not a matter of indifference. Certainly if in a laboratory, we reduce any human being to chemical elements, we arrive at a uniformity but by so doing we are no nearer to understanding why there are such enormous individual differences between people. Abraham's classification seems a logical one because it takes into account the difference between latent and overt behavior. For this reason, the case studies which I shall present, will be discussed from this point of view.

In studying women of the revengeful and wish-fulfilment types, it seems that the penis does not mean the same thing in both. It is as if in the anal-sadistic phase the penis is important as a possession, whereas later, in the phallic phase, its value is on the basis of its intrinsic pleasure-giving attributes. Early, the penis is merely a part of the body that the little girl does not have. The child has no idea what it is good for but

she cannot bear to think that brother has something which she lacks. She tries ways of making such an organ for herself, mainly by taking in food and retaining fæces. Her covetousness is accentuated by repeated failures. This extreme desire may occur even before the child has seen the wonderful way in which the boy urinates because, when the boy is younger than the girl he is still sitting on a chamber while urinating and, therefore, as far as this function is concerned, has no advantage over her.

Abraham says that the girl accuses her father of having castrated her. Freud's original hypothesis is that the girl blames her mother for her lack. This has been my experience. In my patients all the accusations are directed against the mother, first, for not having given the penis to the patient instead of to the boy; second, for having withheld food from her that might have made the penis grow; third, for daily insisting that she give up a piece of herself at stool. This overwhelming desire occurs at a time when the child is in an ambivalent phase. Her future relationships are corrupted by this ambivalence and by her hostile identification with her mother. She brings the intense and uncompromising demands of early childhood into all her future activities. She is unable to develop love for man or woman because of the extreme possessiveness which enters into all her relationships. She swings rapidly from love to hate when she is thwarted in her desires.

The older girl who sees the penis for the first time is apt to see it as a functioning organ. It represents something which gives the owner pleasure in handling and with which he could practice divers accomplishments, getting admiration and applause. The older girl covets the penis for what it can do. Here then lies the origin of her ambitions. These ambitions later become reinforced by a strong identification with the father, on the strength of which she develops her future as if, having identified with him, she had actually received his penis.

The little girl raised in a household of sisters and having no contact with boys remains unaware of her 'defect' and does not develop a castration complex of the type seen in revengeful

women. When she becomes envious of the boy's possession she does so in a franker, freer manner with less hostility toward the possessor of the coveted appendage.

It is undoubtedly because of the deep narcissistic wound attendant upon the feeling of having been castrated that the revengeful woman meets life with a chip on her shoulder. Nothing that happens is ever just right. No pleasure ever comes up to what it might have been if one were not female. Every apple has a worm in it. These women feel themselves pursued by a malignant fate. The ancient joke of the poor misanthropist who looks up just in time to receive a bird's droppings in his eye and complains, 'For the rich they sing', typifies the attitude which these women bring to every phase of their existence. Their lives are an endless succession of failures brought about by loaded dice and marked cards. Every effort seems to be directed toward emphasizing the unfairness with which life treats them.

Abraham considers depression to be the most extreme reaction of sensitiveness to the castration complex. The woman's feeling of unhappiness on account of her femininity is entirely unrepressed. She refuses to compete with men in any sphere and also rejects every feminine act.

One of my patients approximates this picture although her condition is probably less severe than that which Abraham had in mind. This lady came to analysis because of 'jitters'. Her tremors made it very difficult for her to lift a spoon or fork to her mouth without shaking off the food. They also interfered with her job of taking stenographic dictation, and with dressing. She 'cured' the tremors by drinking, and when first seen was a moderately severe alcoholic, entirely dependent on alcohol for practically everything she had to do.

Her relations with people were confused because, except when under the influence of alcohol, she had nothing to say to anyone, was rigid and inclined to be brusque to hide her self-consciousness. When drinking she talked freely, held the floor as much as she could, giving little lectures on how people

should live and what they should do. During this stage, in which she felt masterful and adequate, she was apt to incur people's dislike. Occasionally, in trying to maintain this level by continuing to drink she would pass the 'cure' and get drunk. It was a constant grievance to her that, when this happened, her hostess was annoyed, and various people stopped inviting her. This was unfair: 'Other people can drink without anyone making such a fuss about it!'

The patient blamed her mother for all her difficulties in life. It was her mother's fault that she was a woman, which by definition made her a useless person; furthermore her mother favored her brother and prevented the patient from making anything of herself. It later proved that the mother favored the patient and had at first rejected the brother to the point of having someone else care for him during his first year, during which time the patient slept in her mother's bedroom. After the boy was a year old, and the patient was two and one-half they were taken care of together. Her first recollection of her brother was of his violent tantrums. The mother said she and the patient would have to give in to him because he was nervous and not strong. The patient believed that if she had such a tantrum she would be punished. In analysis the patient recalled more of the details leading to these tantrums. She recalled a game they played with paper dolls. The dolls and their wardrobe were distributed by the method of 'you take this and I'll take that'. After making her selection the patient would find that the brother was delighted with what he had chosen. She particularly remembers a red hat with a feather, and when her brother had shown his pleasure with it she knew she must have made a mistake. It became the most desirable of hats so she changed her mind and claimed it. The little boy fell into a tantrum. Her mother made her give up the hat with the feather because the brother 'might get sick'. This was interpreted by the patient as evidence of her mother's unfairness even though the mother offered her a substitute. It is noteworthy that the patient provoked the boy to states of impotent rage. Between the patient and her mother they suc-

ceeded in 'castrating' him. He became an overt homosexual.

At about five she was discovered to have an inguinal hernia and wore a truss until sixteen when she discarded it because she 'wanted to be feminine'. This truss had some of the emotional value of a penis for her. She was both proud and shy of it when, in a bathing suit, its outline was plainly visible. Her fear of its slipping or of losing it was exaggerated. She feared all her insides would come out and something terrible would happen to her if it got out of place. During the time she wore the truss, she was more self-confident about engaging in physical activity than she ever was later. She played a little tennis, drove a car, rode a bicycle and swam well. After sixteen she refused to attempt anything of the sort because she was convinced she would 'make a fool' of herself. It is as if, having lost the substitute penis, she was fearful that her castrated state would be discovered and that she would be humiliated.

As a child she had had great difficulty in learning. She day-dreamed throughout most of her classes and never asked questions from fear of exposing her ignorance. This pattern continued in adult life. She reads a great deal but does not remember accurately what she reads. In this she is not very different from most of her friends but unlike her they talk of what they have read, argue about it and eventually get it straightened out. She wants to be able to say what she believes she knows in a manner sufficiently authoritative that it will go unchallenged. The challenge impugns her mentality (unconsciously, her masculinity). It is as if someone said, 'You think you know something? How can you? You're only a woman.'

She married a man twenty years her senior and systematically set out in effect to castrate him just as she had her little brother. In intercourse she was completely passive, acting as if the act was one of those unpleasant experiences one has to live through. This attitude, current during seven years of marriage, interfered with her husband's potency although neither was aware that his impotence was in any way dependent on her.

She flirted with many men, usually husbands of her friends but frequently single men younger than herself, making herself as seductive as possible, and then retreating when the man wanted to have intercourse with her. She would return home from such an escapade, gratified to find her husband patiently waiting for her. If she was intoxicated he undressed her, put her to bed and took care of her without criticism. He was interested only in whether or not she had had a good time, maintaining an attitude of self-effacement. The husband also flirted with the wives of his friends but this did not distress the patient who stated she believed that the partners in marriage should have complete sexual freedom.

When she entered her analysis the husband's rôle as the indulgent mother was usurped by the analyst and he then set out to have a life of his own. He told her of a girl with whom he was having an affair, and how his potency with her surprised him. The patient was furious. It was so completely unfair that this should happen to her; that he should thus make a fool of her before other women. He was hers and he had no right to want to do anything but to please her. All her rage at her own castrated state was mobilized as was her desire to castrate her husband. This is what came of being a woman! A man could pick himself a girl and have an affair, a man could select a dance partner, a man could lead an interesting life so that his conversation was something to which people wanted to listen. Men could get drunk and not be thrown out of people's houses; they could drink and not have to suffer hangovers; they could get mad and not have to suffer the tortures of psychoanalysis.

Drinking was a problem throughout the analysis because it served so many purposes. There was the argument that as fate had deprived her of everything worth having, she had a 'right to something'. Unless she drank she had no fun out of life. Under the influence of alcohol she could persuade herself that she was a beautiful and popular woman, ravishing to all men, and that no one surpassed her. At such times she felt potent as she imagined a man to feel. At parties, given an oppor-

tunity, she would improvise a solo dance with sinuous bodily contortions. This to her was an exhibition of her fantasied penis. Although the patient spoke of drinking as a male prerogative, and though it is true that her father had at one time been an alcoholic, I do not believe that it represented an identification with her father. I feel that this apparent link is mere self-justification. Women who drink on the basis of identification with the male do not do so for the purpose of dispelling anxiety, nor do they when drunk behave castratively toward men. If there be an element of identification in this case, it is a limited hostile identification, not comparable to the identification with the father of the wish-fulfilment type. The latter, conscious of the father's failings and defects, constructs an image which includes only those characteristics of the father which she finds admirable and she identifies herself with this ideal father image.

A second patient met life with a bitterness and a sense of impending doom. She had long, straight, blond hair which constantly slid out of a hastily pinned-up bun and hung down her back in trailing wisps. She used no cosmetics. She wore sweaters and skirts exclusively, feeling that dresses would show her contours too much. Her shoes resembled a little boy's and had never been cleaned. Her stockings hung loosely on her legs and showed runs. She usually carried her hat in her hand. She bitterly resented women who paid attention to their appearance, claiming that they sacrificed comfort for security. She had a grievance against the world because she had never succeeded in anything and had difficulty in holding jobs.

She had been unemployed for six months and had survived through the charity of her landlord and her friends. She was unwilling to part with a small car because if she did so she felt that she would have nothing. Irregularly she did domestic work in her friends' houses for which she received food, old clothes, and a little money. She prided herself on being disillusioned as a token of her superior intellect. The average person was just too stupid to realize the hideousness of life. There was no joy in her life and there never would be because

there was no joy in the world. The enjoyment of books, movies, music or games she scorned as compromises.

When she came to analysis she was recovering from a love affair which had been terminated by the man's marriage to another woman. She was certain that at forty she could no longer look forward to marriage, and she had not achieved financial security on the basis of her own achievements which she attributed to the fact that she was a woman. Her relation with the lover who rejected her had not been a very smooth one. She had felt that he did not value her as a woman. She had presented herself to him as a bulwark of strength, without feminine foibles, extravagances or weaknesses; yet, when he accepted her thus, she felt that he slighted her femininity. His treatment of her was unchivalrous and more appropriate for a male companion. She complained that their sexual relationship had not been satisfactory because during intercourse the man persisted in making to-and-fro movements which distracted her. She was capable of having an orgasm only if the man remained still while she moved. As she was the first woman with whom he had had sexual intercourse, she felt that he owed his penis to her and that it gave her the right to expect support from him when she was out of work. She occasionally demanded money of him in a rage as if she had a right to it; then she despised him for being so weak as to give it to her. Sometimes she could not bear to think of accepting money from him because it proved her uselessness. She helped him in his work and almost believed he was unable to earn a living without her assistance. She treated his success as if it were hers rather than his. When faced with the true state of affairs, that she was no further along in making a solid life for herself than when she had graduated from college, she would burst out in violent storms of rage and demand money from him.

As a little child the patient believed herself to be despised by both parents. Her brother, three and a half years younger, was the family favorite because of being a boy. This led her to the simple conclusion that if you have a penis you get love and care whereas if you do not have a penis you get nothing.

This conclusion was strengthened by her father who told her as a small child that she must plan to go to work as soon as she became old enough. Her attitude toward her little brother alternated between disdain and overprotectiveness. She repeatedly assured him he was too little to do anything. Later when he developed a crippling disease she was overcome with guilt. She felt that by having interfered with whatever he wished to do when he was small, she had caused his illness.

Her father died when the patient was ten years old. Life then became very hard. Her mother went to work and the patient had to take care of her little brother. The patient reacted to this as if the mother had completely deserted her, bitterly resented it and felt it was because her mother did not love them enough. She had difficulties with her teachers because she could not bear correction which she interpreted as a taunt to her inferiority.

Between the ages of sixteen and eighteen she lived what she considered were the happiest years of her life. She did odd jobs for a printer after school and felt that the men in the shop accepted her as an equal. At eighteen she was operated upon for appendicitis. This operation proved to be seriously traumatic. She considered the operation insulting. It revealed her feminine anatomy to strangers and in this way publicly humiliated her. A part of her was removed which would leave her a cripple for life. Before the operation she had been promised money with which to go to college by the minister of her church. After the operation the offer was retracted and she was told that it would be better for her to help her mother; that a girl's place was at home anyway. She 'borrowed' the money for her first year at college determined not to repay it and despising the man who got it for her.

Her hostile attitude toward other students made it difficult for her to keep friends. Her rebellion against instructors prevented her from doing well in her studies. During her second year a man offered to subsidize her for her remaining years in college in exchange for sexual intimacies. She accepted but, whenever possible, avoided intercourse with him because, as

she said, he had made a cheap bargain and by withholding herself she got even with him and indirectly with all men. After graduating, another man gave her money to go abroad. He hoped the patient would marry him on her return but she could not imagine marrying a man who was so weak and foolish. He had not seemed weak and foolish until after he had given her money.

On her return, she got a job as a technician in a hospital laboratory. She was not a satisfactory worker. She would learn the clinical diagnosis from the patient's record and, if the diagnosis permitted a normal report, she would fabricate one without troubling to examine the specimen, quite pleased with herself that nobody ever knew the difference. It proved how much brighter she was than the doctors for whom she worked. She was dismissed from the job for never arriving for work on time. The next ten years she spent drifting from one job to another, intensely dissatisfied with herself and her life. She lost some jobs because of her quarrelsome, bitter attitude toward her coworkers; others she lost because of radical activities, and still others because of habitual tardiness and personal sloppiness. Her bitterness, and her feeling of being no good because of being a woman increased from year to year. In analysis, her attitude towards the future was expressed: 'When I get well I'll probably get run over'. 'Now I'll get well and then I'll die.' She challenged the analyst, saying, 'Why don't you admit you can't cure me? You can't give me a penis.'

Both these patients showed extraordinary unreliability in financial obligations and in handling responsibility. This I have noted in other women of this type whom I have treated. They carry into all their relationships the illusion of having been cheated and permit this to invalidate any bargain they make. This is exactly the opposite to what is seen in the wish-fulfilment type of woman who in discharging her responsibilities, seems to lean over backwards to do so to the fullest extent. It is a point of pride with her that she can be relied on under any circumstances. One of my patients clearly linked

this with her fantasies of being like a man. She felt that her word of honor was as good as a man's.

A good example of the wish-fulfilment type of woman is represented by a patient who had competed successfully with men and enjoyed the prestige this brought her. She came to analysis because of tension with her fellow workers due to her scorn of people less skilled than herself.

This woman was raised in a family of girls. She dates her first sight of the penis to age six when she visited the home of two younger male cousins. As they were being put to bed they all lined up to take their turn urinating in a chamber. The little boys sat on the chamber the way the girls did and the sight of the male organ excited no strong feelings that she could recall. Not long afterwards, however, when she first saw boys urinating at the curb and playing competitive urinary games, she developed an intense desire to own such a fascinating organ. The sight of the penis stimulated a desire to urinate. This is in interesting contrast to the first patient who, when a boy showed her his penis, was paralyzed with rage and mortification because she had nothing to show in return.

She pretended to urinate like boys and developed nocturnal enuresis. Severe disciplinary measures to correct the bedwetting succeeded only in emphasizing her feelings of inferiority. Clitoris masturbation was accompanied by fantasies of boys urinating. She became religious, promised implicit obedience and various sacrifices if only God would give her a penis.

At puberty she apparently gave up the hope of receiving a penis, and the daydreams changed in character. She fantasied pursuing her father's profession, was very active in sports and conducted her life as nearly like a boy as she could, priding herself on her physical strength and endurance, on not being a 'little lady', on looking grubby most of the time. At sixteen she started earning money on the assumption that no man would want to marry her and she should find a way of earning her own living.

She openly resented men, would 'show them' she was as good as they and her attitude toward all people was defensive.

Because of her œdipal attachment to her father she was unusually susceptible to any appeal from a man. Although she assisted women when the need arose, she did so coldly without exaggerating the woman's need or the value of her assistance. Needy men, however, aroused a strong feeling of sympathy that led her to exaggerate the pathos of the man's situation and to overestimate the anticipated result of her assistance. She was unable to refuse intercourse although in her most promiscuous period she was frigid. She justified her promiscuity on the basis that she had as much right as a man had to live a free sex life. At the moment of the man's orgasm she experienced an overwhelming wave of tenderness and protectiveness toward him, interpreting his orgasm as a momentary state of helplessness and vulnerability.

As she overcame her frigidity and became capable of full orgastic satisfaction in intercourse, she became more selective in choosing sexual partners. Having solved some of the problems caused by her penis envy by raising herself, as she thought, to the level which men enjoyed through her intellectual pursuits and financial independence, she could relax and take the feminine rôle in sexual relations.

Among her lovers there were several men whom she could treat as father figures. She adored them and, repeating her early attitude toward her father, strove consciously and unconsciously to be like them and to surpass them. After achieving professional success she said to herself, 'Now I'm a better man than father'. The veiled hostility in this is entirely different from that seen in the revengeful type of woman. This woman does not have the impulse to deprive her father of his penis, but rather the ambition to fashion one for herself that is as good or better. This woman, in sharp contrast to the revengeful woman, got a great deal of enjoyment out of life. She enjoyed knitting and embroidering, but considered them worth bothering with only if it was not of an ordinary sort. She got tremendous pleasure from outdoor exercise although she had never become particularly proficient in any sport. Her approach to life was based on the belief that she could get

anything she wanted if she just learned the proper approach. She was apt, however, to keep a secret alternative goal in mind while working toward the thing she most desired, to have something to fall back on if her plan failed.

This same attitude of realistic optimism predominated in another patient whose life pattern was determined by identification with her father. This woman came to analysis because she wanted to get married. She was sufficiently attractive and intelligent, had had a good many affairs, twice had considered herself in love; yet somehow the man never proved the marrying kind. She believed she might be unconsciously avoiding marriage because of her mother's unfortunate experience. Her father was a bad-tempered, domineering paretic who was known to be very promiscuous.

The patient, the younger of two girls, did all her early sexual experimentation with her sister. This was mainly anal, playing 'doctor', taking temperatures, giving enemata. From around the age of three she remembered seeing her father urinate but not until she was seven was she particularly struck by a desire to have a penis in order to urinate the way he did. At house cleaning times, she begged from her mother the task of scrubbing the stairs. Hastily working her way up from the bottom, on reaching the top she would overturn the bucket sending the water cascading down the stairway. This was delightful. It reminded her of her father's urinating.

During the course of analysis, the patient felt compelled to buy a certain dress. It was decorated with a heavy fold of fluted material hanging freely from the waist to the hem of the dress. On one occasion she felt the dangling drape slip between her legs, and as she carefully lifted it she thought suddenly, 'This is what it feels like to have a penis'. She thought she recalled seeing her father in a dressing-gown, lifting his penis out of the way in this fashion before crossing his legs. The patient speculated on what fun it must be to have a penis; what pleasure it would give the possessor to handle it.

Consciously, the patient disliked and feared her father.

'You never could tell when he would yell at you; he made mother unhappy; he embarrassed you in front of strangers.' Yet the patient got some satisfaction out of his violence. She never got out of bed in the morning at his first, second or even third call. She would lie in bed thinking, 'Now any minute he's going to come in and really be mad'. And she would wait until he did so.

At twenty she left home to make a career for herself on the stage. She had done well in dramatic school and in stock companies and visualized herself making enough money to support her mother and taking better care of her than father had done. Her conscious hostility toward her father masked strong positive feelings. After leaving home, she had him very much on her mind. On the street she expected to meet him everywhere. Looking in shop windows she found herself conducting a conversation with him as if he had just joined her. The fantasy was that she was scolding him for following her. Why could he not see that she was happier without him? Another fantasy was that all her family except her father had died. He was an old man and needed her. She could afford to be magnanimous. She would treat him as if he had always been the kindest and gentlest of men. This fantasy, however, included an alternative plan to turn the tables and tell him that, as he now was dependent on her for support, he must do exactly as she said.

The patient's hope for a career on the stage did not materialize. But she showed no signs of discouragement, got work as a model until she learned the designer's field, and rose rapidly in this occupation.

Her homosexuality was quite near the surface. Although she had had no overt homosexual experiences she was strongly conscious of women's bodies, occasionally getting a sexual sensation from fitting a garment to a model. She had many close friendships with girls. She also had two heterosexual relations that she considered important. One of the latter was with a man who was financially dependent on his sister. She was a

little shocked at this but excused it on the grounds of his youth, although she was younger than he and was financially independent. She was careful not to let him feel her superiority in this sphere. She fantasied their becoming married and her stimulating him to the point of becoming a great success.

Several years later the patient again fell in love, this time with a man who was about twenty years older, an alcoholic actor who could no longer get jobs. She took him to live with her, supported him and tried to keep him sober. An overt homosexual, under her tutelage he achieved potency with her. After about a year she became discouraged because he got drunk periodically. She left him and he committed suicide. During these two relationships the patient showed the same degree of oversusceptibility to a man's suffering noted in the third case.

The revengeful women described in this paper have oriented their lives around the precœdipal stage of libido organization. They show the unmodified, imperious demands of early infancy with which there can be no compromising. There is no flexibility of personality, very slight ability to shift goals and no ability to reduce the bitterness of frustration by the enjoyment of ordinary everyday pleasures. Searching for something they believe they once had, they go through life feeling cheated. The everlasting hurt, bitterness and sense of unfairness is the open wound of a supposed castration.

The wish-fulfilment type of woman has reached the phallic phase of libido development and resolves the conflicts of the œdipus by identifying herself with her father. Never believing that she once had a penis, her newly acquired one is like a bonus. Occasionally one sees career women who are quite exhibitionistic about this acquisition. They are aggressively feministic and tend to flaunt their abilities. Some of them meet their men colleagues with suspiciousness as if they fear the men will rob them of the fruits of their labors. They are

not quite at home in the masculine rôle and because of this, frequently wear it unbecomingly, but they should not be confused with the revengeful type of woman.

Summary

Women who have oriented their lives around penis envy fall into two main groups, called by Abraham the 'wish-fulfilment' type and the 'revengeful' type. For such distinctly different sets of characteristics to arise from an apparently similar nucleus, one must hypothesize different developmental influences. The hypothesis is suggested that the little girl who falls prey to penis envy in the anal-sadistic stage is the one who develops into the revengeful type of woman. This is frequently encountered in cases where a little girl has been raised with a brother who is nearly her own age. The child is faced with the evidence of an anatomical difference between herself and the boy and is disturbed in a characteristic way by her seeming defect. The wish-fulfilment type of woman became preoccupied with penis envy after she had reached the phallic level. Such women had no brothers close to their own age.

The revengeful type of woman lives a barren existence, all her potentialities being directed towards revenging herself on the world for her defect. The wish-fulfilment type of woman, on the other hand, has acquired a penis equivalent which frees her to use her intellectual potentialities in a constructive manner.

AARON BURR

BY LOUIS SMITH (BEREA, KENTUCKY)

Perhaps no person in the history of this country has been more of an enigma to his contemporaries and to posterity than Aaron Burr. Seemingly possessed of almost every requisite for a splendid career, he crowned a half century of graceful, varied, and successful activity by attaining the Vice Presidency of the United States, and very narrowly missed achieving the greatest political honor any citizen of this country can attain. At its height, his public career, which had ascended with the impressive power and brilliance of a rocket, exploded in a burst of pyrotechnics, dashing him to earth and to thirty years of obloquy and failure, his very name betokening to the vast majority of his fellow citizens the most sordid levels of political renegadism and irremediable infamy. In the century and more since his death, many writers, attracted by the Luciferian quality of his dramatic career, have sought to unravel the riddle of his fall, but without complete success. Today it still cannot be stated with clarity or completeness what Burr's schemes actually encompassed, or what combination of hidden and overt causes brought about his humiliation. Indeed, it cannot be decided whether his motives and actions were such as to mark him as a very great rascal or as a much maligned patriot. He has been called both, which suggests that the truth lies somewhere between these extremes of honor and perfidy; just where, men have been unable to agree.

In what follows there is presented what appears to be a conspicuous infantile repetitive psychodynamic pattern which was a strong unconsciously motivating force in Burr's personality. Such an oversimplification cannot account for all the actions of such a complex individual as Burr, but it can make some sense out of the otherwise senseless behavior of a person whose progress in his life deviated egregiously from his potentialities and from commonly accepted reality. The first and

most justly famous example of such an exposition was Freud's study of Dr. Daniel Paul Schreber.[1] Marie Bonaparte's Edgar Poe[2] is a detailed and elaborate similar study. More recently, Iseult Grant Duff's One Sided Sketch of Jonathan Swift[3] achieved a brilliant psychoanalytic character analysis of Swift which this study strives modestly to emulate, equally one sidedly, though certainly less brilliantly.

Freud states that 'the permanent character traits are either unchanged perpetuations of the original impulses, sublimations of them, or reaction formations against them',[4] and that every human being has acquired by the combined operation of inherent disposition and external influences in childhood, a special individuality in the exercise of his capacity for action, that is, in the conditions which he sets up for action, in the impulses he gratifies by it, and in the aims he seeks to achieve. This forms a stereotype which is automatically repetitive in so far as external circumstances and the nature of accessible objects permit.[5] Thus personality may be considered as 'a composite structure built on a foundation of preformed inherited psychophysiological mechanism by experience'.[6] The repetitive traits of a personality are, of course, the habitual mental reactions characteristic of that individual. This excludes simple habits but it does not give full weight to all the influences of the unconscious.[7] 'It is characteristic of traits that they are obstinately, persistingly, enduring; otherwise they would not be habitual and characteristic of the personality. This does not mean that they are necessarily lasting

1 Freud: *Psychoanalytic Notes Upon an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia.* Coll. Papers, III, p. 387.

2 Bonaparte, Marie: *Edgar Poe.* Paris: Denoël et Steele, 1933.

3 Grant Duff, I. F.: *A One-Sided Sketch of Jonathan Swift.* This QUARTERLY, VI, 1937, p. 238.

4 Freud: Coll. Papers, II, p. 50.

5 *Ibid.,* 312–313.

6 Prince, Morton: *Studies in Personality.* Boston: Sci-Art Publishers, 1929, p. 125.

7 *Ibid.,* p. 123.

throughout life . . . though it is not uncommon for some to persist throughout life.' [8]

Psychoanalytic theory holds that character traits are largely the reflection of elements of infantile sexuality. These in some cases are perpetuated directly into adult behavior. Because of the taboos which hedge in the majority of sexual practices, few of these infantile elements can persist to maturity without some modification. Thus they are likely to be found, not in their original forms, but as sublimations of them or reaction-formations against them.[9] Infantile sexuality centers itself around the various erogenous zones of the body as they successively emerge into awareness, chiefly the mouth, the anus, and the genitals, in the order mentioned. Personality traits derive from the quality, intensity, and the fate of sensual gratification afforded by these zones. The traits arrange themselves in constellations around these areas and give the personality its individual configuration. Inherent disposition and environmental influences, and the mechanisms of fixation or regression, cause traits arising from one of these zones to predominate, the resulting personality taking its name from the predominant area: oral, anal, or genital. These types never exist in pure form; traits from each are always present in the personality, so that when an individual is spoken of as a particular type, it simply means that this constellation of traits is relatively the most important.[10]

The oral personality is the outgrowth of an unconscious system of experiences associated with sensations arising from the mouth and its appendages, such as the lips, tongue, pharynx, and larynx.[11] The infant at the outset experiences pleasurable sensations of sucking, warmth, and softness in connection with the satisfaction of hunger at its mother's breast.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[9] Abraham, Karl: *Influence of Oral Erotism on Character Formation.* Int. J. Psa., VI, 1925, pp. 247–258.

[10] Schilder, Paul: *Personality in the Light of Psychoanalysis.* Psa. Rev., XXIII, 1936, pp. 45–46.

[11] Sullivan, Harry Stack: *The Oral Complex.* Psa. Rev., XII, 1925, pp. 33–34.

The intense pleasure in the act of sucking is proved by the infant's strong tendency to suck on anything available after its hunger for food has been satisfied.[12] It has been noted that the infant's behavior during and following breast feeding is markedly similar to that of adults during and following sexual intercourse.[13]

The experience of the infant during the suckling period is not uniformly pleasant. For many children, the suckling stage is rich in pain and poor in pleasure. According to Karl Abraham, the outstanding student of the oral character, children who have been unhappy as nurslings will develop markedly different oral personality traits from those whose period of suckling was replete with satisfaction and pleasure. Abraham called the individual who suffered from unhappy or thwarted suckling an oral pessimist, and described him as tending toward extremes of envy, covetousness, jealousy, hostility, acerbity, and destructiveness. The constellation of traits arising as a consequence of suckling rich in erotic gratification might lead to the development of what he called an oral optimist.[14]

The oral optimist has brought with him from his happy period of suckling a deeply rooted faith that all will always be well with him. He faces life with an imperturbable optimism which often leads to great accomplishment of practical aims. The oral optimist will be bright and sociable, markedly receptive to new ideas, energetic in his pursuits, and uninhibited in his contacts with his fellows or his responsibilities. Generosity will be a conspicuous trait, as will self-reliance, although this may break down periodically under stress. He is likely to exhibit a passive dependence upon others to supply his wants much in the same manner as he used to rely on the eternally flowing mother's breast for his nutritional and erotic satisfactions. Persons of this oral type are marked by impatience,

[12] Glover, Edward: *The Significance of the Mouth in Psycho-Analysis.* Brit. J. Med. Psychol., IV, 1924, p. 141.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[14] Abraham, Karl: *Op. cit.*, pp. 253, ff.

haste, and restlessness. They are likewise apt to be ambitious and to make strong demands on the environment for the fulfilment of this ambition. The displacement of the infantile pleasure in sucking to the intellectual sphere makes the trait of curiosity an important component of this personality type.[15]

The oral optimist has a strong attachment to his mother and her surrogates, which consists more in a demand to be loved than in loving, though such personality types may have a high capacity for both. With the disappearance of the real mother, the individual has a strong propensity to seek mother substitutes who will afford him the gratification which he characteristically demands.[16] There is a correspondingly strong hatred for the father and father surrogates expressed in an impatience with restraints, rebellion against authority, and a tendency toward overt acts of opposition. These characteristics relate also to an exaggerated esteem in which oral optimists hold themselves. A uniformly high degree of success in eliciting from their environments the kinds of gratification they seek, leads them to an overestimation of their powers, and creates an illusion of omnipotence.[17] Consequently they have an overweening opinion of their own judgments and abilities amounting to omniscience, and they show a tendency to insubordination on occasions when their own judgment differs from a course of conduct legitimately prescribed by a superior. In positions of authority, however, they are indomitable in the demand that their instructions be observed to the minutest letter. The fractious subordinate becomes the martinetish superior.

The sensual-erotic oral gratification of the suckling period meets with little prohibition, in contrast to the indulgence of anal or genital pleasures. With less pressure toward transformations, by sublimations or reaction-formations, oral-erotic strivings have the best possibility of persisting into maturity

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 255–258.

[16] Freud: Coll. Papers, IV, p. 197.

[17] Glover, Edward: *Notes on Oral Character Formation.* Int. J. Psa., VI, 1925, p. 138.

without substantial modification. The habits which indicate the oral personality are of two types: those which involve direct oral indulgence, and those which are based on displacement of oral traits. Of the first group are such mouth pleasures as overindulgence in smoking, chewing, whistling, eating highly flavored foods, nibbling sweets; in drinking beverages, if alcoholic, for oral stimulation rather than for the alcoholic effects; in kissing, lip chewing, tongue sucking, nail biting, lozenge sucking, and chin nursing. Among the second group of habits are frequent dining out, attending the theater, conversing, orating, going to teas, and singing in choral societies. Individuals possessing these genetically oral habits 'have just a trace of compulsion in their make-up, and around the public house of a Sunday evening, one can invariably find a small crowd in a minor state of optimistic impatience, whose nursery cry of "want a dink" once rent the fretful watches of the night'.[18] Oral characters are usually meticulous about appointments, demanding that others should not be a second late, the least delay evoking a strong impatience.[19] A marked propensity for reading before going to bed (passive receptive) seems to be a condition for falling asleep.[20] They are familiar figures in doctors' offices, seeking treatment for digestive complaints, and they are wide users of proprietary nostrums for such disorders. In many cases they have an exaggerated conception of the value of fasting as a cure for sickness, indicating unconscious guilt about their oral indulgences.[21]

In Aaron Burr was commingled the blood of two families which had attained some considerable eminence in Colonial America. His father, the Reverend Aaron Burr, was a highly

18 Glover, Edward: *The Significance of the Mouth in Psycho-Analysis. Loc. cit.*, p. 153.

19 Glover, Edward: *Notes on Oral Character Formation. Loc. cit.*, pp. 138–139.

20 *Ibid.*, 139.

21 Alexander, Franz: (ed.) *The Influence of Psychologic Factors upon Gastro-Intestinal Disturbances—a Symposium.* This QUARTERLY, III, 1934, pp. 501–588.

intellectual and greatly respected Presbyterian minister who was very active in the 'Great Awakening' of the eighteenth century. He was one of the founders of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) and served as its second president. His mother was Esther Edwards, daughter of the redoubtable Jonathan Edwards, whose hell-fire-and-brimstone theology and preaching left an indelible mark on the culture of this country. At the time of their marriage, she was in her twenty-first year, her husband in his thirty-eighth. Aaron was their second child. The first, a girl named Sarah, was about two years old when he was born. He was somewhat prematurely born and in his earliest weeks was very sickly, his life being at one time despaired. The Reverend Burr was absent on some theological excursion at the time his wife was brought to bed with this child.[22] Burr's mother was a devout but altogether lively and affectionate woman. Despite the disparity in their ages she was warmly in love with her preacher husband and lamented his frequent absences. Something of her attitude towards him may be understood from the following extract from one of her letters: 'Do you think that I would change my *good Mr. Burr* for any person, or thing, or all things on the erth? *No sure!* not for a million such Worlds as this [that] had *no Mr. Burr* on it.' [23] Of her little son, she wrote that he was 'a little dirty Noisy Boy. . . . He begins to talk [a] little, is very Sly and mischievous. He has more sprightliness than Sally [Sarah] & most say he is handsomer, but not so good tempered. He is very resolute & requires a Good Governor to bring him to terms.' [24] This was written in September 1757 when the child was nearly eighteen months of age. Within a month of this date, her husband returned from one of his evangelical missions, quite ill from overwork and exposure, and died within a few days. This was a harrowing shock to his young wife. She had hardly begun to recover from this when her famous father,

[22] Schachner, Nathan: *Aaron Burr: A Biography*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1937, p. 14.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

who had come to Princeton as the successor of his son-in-law, died of an infected smallpox vaccination. Is it unreasonable to believe that the bereaved Mrs. Burr turned to her infant son for consolation and lavished on him all the love which formerly she had shared with the departed? The following letter reveals something of her feelings at this time:

> 'God has carried me through new trials and given me new supports. My little son has been sick with a slow fever . . . and has been brought to the brink of the grave. But I hope, in mercy, God is bringing him up again. I was enabled to resign the child, after a severe struggle with nature, with the greatest freedom. God showed me that the child was not my own, but his, and that he had a right to recall which he had lent whenever he thought fit. . . . A few days after this, one evening in talking of the glorious state my dear departed must be in, my soul was carried out in such longing desires after this glorious state, that I was forced to retire from the family to conceal my joy.' [25]

The threat of the son's death, 'after a severe struggle with nature', is resolved in a mystic union with the dead father. Her resigned submission to God is an expression of her Christian training, but with the exception of the 'longing desires', it is difficult to accept these statements at their face value. Since God had taken the person whom she held most dearly, he might let her keep her boy if she indicated a willingness to give him up. It is not unreasonable to suppose that during the year and a half which she lived after the death of her husband she vented her abundant affections on her little boy with the oral consequences of 'spoiling' to which Edward Glover first called attention.[26]

Entries in a Journal [27] kept by Burr state impressively the great rôle oral habits played in his daily life. First, for example, is his extreme fondness for smoking of which both

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[26] Glover, Edward: *Notes on Oral Character Formation. Loc. cit.*, p. 135.

[27] Bixby, William K.: (ed.) *The Private Journal of Aaron Burr.* Rochester: Privately printed by Mr. Bixby, 1903, 2 vols.

Brill [28] and Glover [29] have written as characteristic of the oral personality.

> 'I am in the third story, what is here called the second floor. Tobacco is interdicted; but I ventured to smoke my pipe up the chimney, with a window open. No segar to be had. Tobacco very bad. 3¼ P. an ounce. Something more than a dollar a pound. The Virginians would, at this time, be glad to get 10 cents a pound for tobacco of much better quality.' (December 12, 1808) [30]
>
> 'At Hemel Hempstead found a beer club of about a dozen, smoking and drinking ale. Joined them. Took my pipe and called for my pint of beer. They bring a pipe with a small bowl of tobacco. The tobacco is never put on the table. The maid fills it and hands it to you; for each pipeful a ¼ penny; pint of beer three pence.' (December 13, 1808) [31]
>
> 'Les Trois M'lles Walker played and sang Scotch songs for me. Took one rubber at whist; won one shilling. Off at ten. Trop bu, drank lemonade and smoked black tobacco till 1. Amused by the singing of a jovial party in an adjoining room.' (January 4, 1809) [32]

These are typical of numerous such entries scattered throughout the pages of the Journal of his European sojourn. They show not simply that Burr used tobacco, but that he was very fond of it, enough so, in fact, that he was impelled to write frequently in his Journal of the pleasures of his pipe and cigars.

These and other entries betray his fondness for drinking and eating. He was a drinker but not a drunkard. There is no evidence that he ever sought to drown his sorrows or that he sought energy or optimism in alcohol. Evidently his stomach was easily upset by overindulgence and he makes numerous complaints of sleeplessness resulting from tea or coffee at the

[28] Brill, A. A.: *Tobacco and the Individual.* Int. J. Psa., III, 1922.

[29] Glover, Edward: *Significance of the Mouth in Psycho-Analysis. Loc. cit.,* p. 151.

[30] Bixby, William K.: *Op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 36.

[31] *Ibid.,* I, p. 38.

[32] *Ibid.,* I, p. 49.

evening meal; yet he could never give up these beverages for more than a short interval.

> 'Got home, but could not make my host understand that I wanted a dish of tea. [This was in Sweden.] After laboring in vain for a quarter of an hour, was obliged to take him out to the house of a Frenchman who spoke Swedish, and who explained for us. Tea was got very cheerfully. A long pipe and tobacco.' (May 3, 1809) [33]
>
> 'My dinner, which was temperate, disagrees with me, and I have been taking coffee, which has done me no good. Must come back to rice.' (July 10, 1811) [34]
>
> 'Had taken tea with A., but not having had my allowance of ale, sent for a pint which have drank. What a John Bull, you will cry! . . . It was ½ p. 2 when I couched, and that ale or some other vicious thing kept me tossing and turning all night.' (February 7, 1812) [35]
>
> 'Fanny, whom of all the family I trust to make me tea, gave it rather too strong last night, and I was *vigil* till past 4.' (March 1, 1812) [36]
>
> 'Having eat and drunk too much yesterday, was obliged to sit up till 5.' (January 11, 1809) [37]
>
> 'Had been intemperate. By way of cure drank excessively of cream of tartar punch; kept going till 5; very little sleep; rose at 9. Very bad order, but sore throat gone.' (January 30, 1809) [38]

His frequent indigestion and sleeplessness seem not to have cramped for long periods his indulgence in tasty foods, or prevented his acceptance of the very numerous invitations to dine out which were tendered him. The record of his European travels reveals him as a man who ate for pleasure. The pages of his journal very frequently contain such items:

[33] *Ibid.*, I, p. 103.
[34] *Ibid.*, II, p. 218.
[35] *Ibid.*, II, p. 311.
[36] *Ibid.*, II, p. 364.
[37] *Ibid.*, I, p. 53.
[38] *Ibid.*, I, p. 70.

'Stopped to take jelly and cake'; [39] 'Strolled for an hour and took ice-creams'; [40] 'Paid three shillings for fruit';[41] 'Ate a pound of grapes on my walk'.[42] Of his fondness for dining out, limitation is imposed by lack of space rather than by any scarcity of illustrative material. The following account of a dinner which he attended while he was traveling in Sweden is typical of innumerable similar instances.

> 'At ½ p. 2 to Hedboom's to dine. *Y*: his wife and her sister M'lle Poussett; two very pretty women, but *malheureusement,* speaking nothing but Swedish; Mr. Heuland; two clerks of Mr. Heuland, and Mr. Hosack. Before dinner, Brandy, bread and cheese, salt herring, cut into small pieces and handed round. Fish, then soup, then bouilli and roti; good claret, of which the ladies partook. *Trinque.* All rose at once from the table. Bows and salutations. Coffee served immediately.' (May 12, 1809) [43]

His experiences in Edinburgh are typical of the kind of life Burr liked to lead. There he was entertained by Lord Justice Clerke, waited upon by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, introduced to such literary figures as Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Jeffery of the Edinburgh Review, and had entrée into the homes of the city's highest society. To his warm friend Jeremy Bentham, he wrote of his Edinburgh visit in the following vein:

> 'I lead a life of utmost dissipation. Driving out every day and at some party almost every night. . . . The peculiarities of the Scots and Scotesses amuse me greatly. The time passed at Edinburgh was a continued round of dissipation, dinners, suppers, balls, routs. Edinburgh is the most hospitable and

[39] *Ibid.*, I, p. 83.
[40] *Ibid.*, II, p. 226.
[41] *Ibid.*, II, p. 278.
[42] *Ibid.*, II, p. 5.
[43] *Ibid.*, I, p. 108.

social place I have been. They meet to amuse and be amused and they succeed.' [44]

Burr apparently was an excellent conversationalist. He liked few things better than to sit with a congenial group and chat away the hours. He was not like Samuel Johnson who dominated by bullying and outshouting those he could not vanquish by his wit and logic. Burr preferred the friendly give and take of multipartied conversation. He was more ready to learn and to be amused than he was to instruct or to controvert. He seems to have been a charming talker and a flattering listener. He was equally facile in large groups or *à deux*. To him silence was a void to be filled with words. Thrown with strangers who were not immediately disposed to converse, he made it a game to see whether he could draw them out and his journal records no case in which he failed. Gamaliel Bradford wrote of him, '. . . he liked people, liked to be with them, and to watch them, and to talk with them. His admirers compared his social ease as well as his morals with those of Chesterfield, and he liked to have them do so. But he was infinitely more genuine than Chesterfield and infinitely more lovable. . . . Above all, he had the delightful gift of making others' amusement his own, and his is the charming and perfectly human phrase, "It is a luxury to see people happy".' [45]

He had vast energy for any kind of effort. Meeting strangers, conversing with the famous, traveling, planning, sight-seeing, and playing the gallant never appeared to pall for him and only rarely to tire him. He was thoroughly externalized and had no inhibitions to burden his strength or afflict him with inertia. As Bradford has so aptly written of him, 'There is always recognition of the golden sufficiency of the present, and the wisdom of making the most of it by keeping one's thoughts

[44] Wandell, Samuel H., and Minnigerode, Meade: *Aaron Burr.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925. 2 vols. Vol. II, p. 243.

[45] Bradford, Gamaliel: *Damaged Souls.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922, p. 91.

outside one's self.' [46] Burr was unquestionably one of the best-read Americans of his time,[47] but he was no bookworm sheltering himself from the angry storms of the world between the quiet covers of a book. His days were full and varied in the 'going, seeing, and doing' way of living. A typical day, but by no means one of his busiest, is well illustrated by the following entry:

> 'Couche at 11. Rose at 9. Wrote M.J.G. to inquire whether I had well remembered that that was the fete of her marriage. Received reply. Yes. To Jeremy Bentham at two, on the way calling at A's; he was out. Sat half an hour with J.B.; and engaged to dine him tete-a-tete on Christmas day. The younger men are to be banished. At 4 to G's, to dine; met the family and A, whose birthday this is. Mary has come home and looks very lovely, but has not the air of strong health. Passed a very cheerful, pleasant day. Off at 11. Home with A., and *chez moi* at ½ p. 12. Received answer to my letter to D. Williamson. Very friendly, like a Scotchman. Ann is married. Elkton Hammond called and left a note requesting me to dine tomorrow at Hampstead.' (December 21, 1811) [48]

The sprinkling of French words illustrates his fondness for languages which was apparently more oral than academic in view of the fact that he had a much greater facility in conversing in these languages than in writing them. William K. Bixby, one of the most careful students of Burr's career, wrote of the Journal:

> 'What a confusion of tongues is found! It is a veritable Babel! Swedish, French, German, and Latin words are joined together to express one thought. For example, Burr eats *"bro et cas. pro prandium"*. If cas. stands for the German Kase, cheese, then the four languages cited are here found in one sentence in the order given. Burr takes not a stroll but *un strolle*. A maiden is *"jolie et* interesting". Burr did not

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[47] Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.*, p. 121.
[48] Bixby, William K.: *Op. cit.*, II, p. 271.

> go to bed; he went *couche.* He did not drink weak tea but "tea *faible*". He transported *y* his baggage instead of send- it thither. When he had no money, he experienced a *"sans sous siege"*. . . . The fact is clear that Burr suffered from an exaggerated case of *Frenchitis.'* [49]

Machiavelli counseled the political man either to be generous or, better, to give the impression of generosity. There can be no doubt that Burr was chronically, and improvidently generous. During his service in the Revolutionary army, he gave freely of his own means to supplement the meager supplies which an impoverished Congress provided. He was financially helpful to numbers of his friends during the unsettled period immediately after the Revolution. Nathan Schachner says in his biography of Burr that 'the money that he made so readily, slipped even more readily through his fingers. Never was he to learn the value of those shining bits of tinsel. He loved good food, good wine, stately houses, splendid furnishings and lavish entertainment. He could never resist an appeal to his pocket, whether based on need, alleged acquaintance, or a common service in the Revolution. He was liberal and generous to a fault.' [50] At a time when his finances were in a very straitened condition, he became the patron of an impecunious young man who had a talent for painting and sent him to Europe at his own expense, after having him trained in this country under the celebrated American artist, Gilbert Stuart.[51] This is only the most conspicuous of several such philanthropies of Burr. While he was in Europe, and at times uncertain of funds to meet the expenses of his daily bread and shelter, he evinced the same extravagant generosity. This is charmingly shown by the following excerpt from his journal, written when his European prospects and personal finances had sunk to their most dismal nadir. 'Have left in

[49] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 481–482.
[50] Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.*, p. 81.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 121–122.

cash 2 half pence, which is better than *one* penny, because they jingle, and thus one may refresh one's self with the music.' [52] Later he confessed that this pocket music was stilled after an unsuccessful attempt to pawn his watch: 'So went on *sans sous,* for I had given my two half pence to Gonin's little girl.' [53]

Such generosity is a strong oral trait. According to Karl Abraham, 'the orally gratified person is here identifying himself with the lavish mother'.[54] But the oral character is likely to show as much of a tendency to rely upon others as to bestow favors upon them. This is a consequence of the oral tendency to look upon the environment as an eternally flowing mother's breast which can always be depended on to satisfy his wants.[55]

Burr's sense of independence was never too strong to prevent him from seeking favors when he needed them.[56] At the height of his success as member of the New York bar, his extravagance always outran his means and necessitated his calling upon friends for loans or for endorsements of his notes with professional money lenders.[57] When he was in desperate straits in Europe, he frequently called upon his friends for the funds necessary for his subsistence, and he accepted almost as a matter of course that help which he would have been only too glad to render to them had the conditions been reversed. A Swedish friend, who had fallen under the spell of Burr's vast charm and who had sensed the condition of his finances, mailed him a draft for a substantial sum of money. In his Journal, Burr chronicled his surprise at this gift and his reluctance to accept help from so generous a stranger; but when his funds ran dangerously low, he felt he had to cash it.[58] In his schemes regarding Mexico and the lands west of the Mississippi, he

[52] Bixby, William K.: *Op. cit.,* II, p. 347.

[53] *Ibid.,* p. 350.

[54] Abraham, Karl: *Op. cit.,* p. 256.

[55] Bergler, Edmund: *Zur Problematic des Oralen Pessimisten.* Imago, XX, 1934, p. 334.

[56] Bradford, Gamaliel: *Op. cit.,* p. 113.

[57] Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.,* pp. 123, ff.

[58] Bixby, William K.: *Op. cit.,* I, p. 277.

exhausted his own balances and persuaded his friend Blennerhassett to plunge in with him so deeply that he was eventually reduced from affluence to want.[59] When he was on trial for his life at Richmond, he made heavy inroads on the resources of his son-in-law, Governor Alston of South Carolina.[60] In his latter days he was persistently petitioning Congress for financial compensation for his monetary advances in the Revolutionary War or seeking pensions for his services.[61] And when his years had extended beyond the scriptural span, he was to seek through marriage with a hardened, faded, but moneyed widow, funds for a new career of lavishness and éclat.[62]

For all his dependence on others to succor him in time of need, Aaron Burr was no Wilkins Micawber, waiting passively and hopefully for something to turn up. He had a boundless faith in the capacity of the environment to satisfy his demands, and he had an equally boundless confidence in his ability to secure this satisfaction from the environment. If nothing turned up, he would turn something up. He believed in a realistic world in which results can be achieved if a man but work with energy, good sense, and perseverance.[63] In war, Burr is the practical soldier, not the military theorist. In law, he is the practitioner, not the legal philosopher. In politics, he is the manipulator and organizer rather than the statesman. Of the three outstanding figures and strong political rivals in this country as it entered the nineteenth century, Alexander Hamilton is remembered for his advocacy of the principles of federalism, and government control of finances; Thomas Jefferson, for his advocacy of the principles of state's rights and agrarianism; Aaron Burr, for the political practices of Tammany Hall and the institutionalization of the spoils system.

Burr's vast confidence in his own capacity well indicates his

[59] Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.*, p. 446.

[60] Wandell, Samuel H., and Minnigerode, Meade: *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 302–304.

[61] Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

[62] Bradford, Gamaliel: *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

[63] Harry Stack Sullivan has identified this as a characteristic oral trait. *Loc. cit.*, p. 37.

sense of omnipotence. One may search in vain through the pages of his journals, or through his letters, speeches, or recorded conversations for any instance in which he indicates a distrust of his own powers. Burr was profoundly confident of the constructive powers of the doer and of the efficacy of the deed. He was decidedly not profoundly philosophical; for all his vast reading he seems never to have perused thoroughly or to have pondered deeply the writings of the abstract philosophers. His fondness for Jeremy Bentham indicates his interest in the practical rather than the theoretical aspects of politics. Bentham's hedonistic calculus is completely in accord with the philosophy implicit in Aaron Burr's conduct from the cradle to the grave. Even in the case of Bentham, Burr seemed more to have been attracted by Bentham's obvious good will toward him than by the abstract content of his philosophical doctrines. Burr often mentions his meetings with Bentham both in his Journal and in his letters to his daughter, Theodosia, but nowhere does he allude to any aspects of their conversations which indicate a preoccupation with philosophic subject matter.

With his externalized point of view and his unbounded confidence in his own abilities, Burr always had some project under way. His optimism, energy, intelligence, and his high capacity for enlisting the support of others, gave these projects grandiose proportions.

The oral optimist is quite likely to take a second and bigger risk in order to recoup an initial failure. He has a strong tendency to gamble both in the usual and in the larger sense of risking high values, both his own and others', in the hope of gigantic returns which may seem highly problematical to others but which his own feelings of omnipotence make virtually certain.[64]

Burr was rarely a conventional gambler for money stakes. He makes a statement to this effect several times after he has

[64] Bergler, Edmund: *Zur Psychologie des Hasardspielers.* Imago, XXII, 1936. pp. 409–41.

played whist or chess for small coins and won.[65] Incidentally, he mentions playing chess with the charming Mrs. P. for osculatory rather than monetary stakes. But if he disdained the usual methods of gambling, it was because his temperament demanded a broader arena and higher stakes than are usually to be found in ordinary gaming. Bradford records that 'he liked speculation of all sorts, liked to make cloud fortunes, and squander them generously and recklessly'.[66] In common with most of the public figures of his time, Burr was frequently engaged in land speculations. These never seemed to bring him any profits but he was persistent in his endeavors. In the ill-fated western adventures, which resulted in his trial for treason, there was the matter of the Bastrop Lands from which he had hoped to make a princely profit.[67] Throughout his European travels he was continually seeking to interest continental capitalists in a large scale land speculation known as the Holland Company. At times he fancied himself on the verge of securing important investments for this proposition, and on these occasions his spirits soared in characteristic fashion. He had visions of clearing ten thousand dollars in a fortnight, but the scheme came to naught.[68] There was more than a little kinship between Burr and the ebullient Colonel Mulberry Sellers whose grandiose fantasies of quick millions enliven the pages of Mark Twain's Gilded Age. Like Sellers, he believed that the long-expected bonanza was just at his finger tips and by tomorrow, or the day after at the latest, it would fall into his hands and solve all his problems.

Burr's European adventures became a little ludicrous after he abandoned his hopes of enlisting Napoleon's support in behalf of what he designated as X, his dream of invading Spanish Mexico and setting up an empire under the rule of the Emperor Aaron I. From empire he had perforce to lower

[65] Bixby, William K.: *Op. cit.*, I, p. 8.

[66] Bradford, Gamaliel: *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

[67] Davis, Matthew L.: *Memoirs of Aaron Burr.* New York: Harper and Bros., 1858, 2 vols. Vol. II, pp. 378, ff.

[68] Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.*, p. 482.

the objectives of his ambitions for quick riches to such relatively mundane things as royalties from fantastic and never to be perfected inventions such as improved types of false teeth, a device for transforming an industrial acid by-product into vinegar, and a giant powered steam engine for use on transatlantic vessels.[69] He was neither a dentist, a chemist, nor a mechanical engineer, but he had no doubt about his ability to work out the details of these inventions. However, his improvement of false teeth was productive of no enthusiasm among the members of the dental profession and thus that dream of riches failed. His chief problem with the vinegar was to remove a bad taste from the acid. After some efforts he was entirely successful in removing the offensive taste from his solution, but unfortunately the process removed all of the acid too, leaving simple water.[70] He was far ahead of his time with his steamboat plans; people refused to listen to his claims that sails, masts, and rigging were entirely unnecessary and that vessels would be able to cross the ocean in less than a week by the method of steam propulsion which he had seen introduced in New York by Robert Fulton. Had they listened to him, he would doubtless have been unable to materialize his fantasy.

The two most spectacular events in Burr's life were his duel with Hamilton and his grandiose scheme in the west, with its aftermath in the courtroom in Richmond. No man is likely to fight a duel unless there is something of the gambler in him, and Burr's recorded three, bear strong testimony regarding this side of his nature. There were other more obvious reasons, of course, for the duels. The western project, with its remote objective, its ramified intrigues, and its dependence for success upon the outbreak of war between Spain and the United States was an extremely hazardous risk with the most dubious prospects for favorable outcome. In the trial at Richmond, Burr's life was the stake for which the game was played. With cool resourcefulness and daring disregard for the possible conse-

[69] Wandell, Samuel H., and Minnigerode, Meade: *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 275–276.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

quences of any mistake he might make, he actively headed the group of lawyers he retained to defend him and, after a brilliant display of his very considerable legal talents, won his acquittal in a trial which will long rank as one of the greatest in the history of the American bar.

Burr, who could not bear to wait for people who were late for appointments, always had one or more watches on his person, unless he had been compelled to pawn them, which in his later years was quite often the case. In Europe he was frequently annoyed by the failure of his visitors to keep their appointments and often complained when he was kept cooling his heels in someone's anteroom.[71]

In his military career his trait of impatience is one of his most striking characteristics. Impatient to get into the army, he defied his guardian in order to enlist. In the army, he grew impatient with the drab routine of Washington's first camp and marched away with Montgomery and Arnold on their unfortunate expedition against Quebec. After the failure of this campaign, Burr grew impatient with the inactivity of Arnold's soldiering and returned precipitously to Washington's army. He had distinguished himself for resoluteness on the march to Canada, for bravery on the battlefield of Quebec, for leadership at the battle of Long Island, and for disciplinary excellence at Valley Forge, but he grew impatient with General Washington for his slowness in prosecuting the war and for his general inefficiency.[72] He was irked by his failure to be promoted as fast as some of his associates whose services were obviously inferior to his and by the constant refusals General Washington gave to his plans for action. Consequently he tired of his military career long before the war was over and resigned from the service when his health seemed to be impaired by the rigors of soldiering.

His sickness was not very grave, however, for he was soon planning to embark on a legal career. Here, also, his impa-

[71] Bradford, Gamaliel: *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

[72] Wandell, Samuel H., and Minnigerode, Meade: *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 59, ff.

tience would not permit him to spend the number of years usually required for preparation for the bar. He hired a teacher who would give full time to his instruction. The method of instruction he required is characteristic. Instead of following the directions of the teacher, Burr was to direct the course, and decide when he had a sufficiency of knowledge in a particular part of the subject matter. When Burr had satisfied himself that he was ready, he headed for the state capitol to secure permission to take the examination. This the bar members were loath to give. Nothing daunted, he went to the Supreme Court and petitioned its members to overrule the bar and permit him to take the examination without having to spend the additional time in preparation. The justices of the court, in view of his years of service to his country in the war which was still in progress, granted his request. According to the custom of the times, he was required to pass an oral examination by the members of the Albany bar. Because of their opposition to permitting him to shorten the customary period of study, they quizzed him with extreme severity. He passed the ordeal brilliantly and was admitted to the bar without opposition.[73] Throughout his political career Aaron Burr was to seek success by short cuts, but not always with the same degree of success.

Although Burr showed the widest range of taste in his responses to the attractions of women, he unmistakably leaned toward the mother type. He was extremely popular with young and beautiful ladies wherever he went, but he chose to marry a rather homely lady, Mrs. Theodosia Prevost, who was ten years older than himself, the widow of a British army officer, and mother of five children.[74] After her death, he projected on their small daughter, Theodosia, all the qualities he had admired in the mother and brought her up in strict accordance with the original model. There was a continuous stream of amours, some passing and some serious, in the years imme-

[73] Davis, Matthew L.: *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 218–219, 239–240.
[74] Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

diately following the death of the first Mrs. Burr. Not all of these women can be regarded as motherly. The beauteous and coy Celeste, who blew alternately hot and cold to the ardent proposals of Vice President Burr was hardly such a type. Another of about the same date certainly was. 'There was a middle-aged lady in New York, who was silly and talkative but "certainly good-tempered and cheerful, rather comely, abating a flat chest", with whom, in 1804, "things are not gone to extremities, but there is danger".'[75] On his trip to Europe there was a swift procession of women who helped Burr pass away the hours. Entries may be found in his amazingly frank journal of his stay abroad, telling of hours of affectionate sexual dalliance with Madame P., or Madame D., or Madame C., and so on through the alphabet. In London, after leaving Jeremy Bentham's Queen's Square Place residence to escape creditors who were threatening him with arrest, he took up lodgings with a young widow of about twenty-eight years who bore the same name as his first wife, Madame Prevost. In a very few days, Burr was well established in her household, and she in his bedroom.[76] In Paris, there was the charming Madame Paschaud, whose husband was conveniently absent in Geneva. At Weimar, where he met Goethe, his principal preoccupation was with a lady of the court, a Madame or Mademoiselle de Reizenstein—the record is not clear here—whom he called a sorceress and from whom he fled because she was too great a distraction from his projects.[77]

When he returned from his fruitless trip to Europe in 1812, one of his first letters to his daughter Theo tells her that he has fallen in love and has 'a project of entering into the holy state of matrimony. The charming object is already designated, and love, almighty love! The fair object is a worthy lady some few years older than myself, with fortune enough, and I think, good-nature enough to make that appropriation of it. Now, this fine sentimental project would be utterly

[75] Wandell, Samuel H., and Minnigerode, Meade: *Op. cit.*, II, p. 321.
[76] Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.*, pp. 499 ff.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 469; Bradford, Gamaliel: *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

defeated by the limits-establishing.'[78] The context indicates that Colonel Burr was seeking as much through her fortune to find relief from his creditors as he was through her love to enjoy the felicities of domesticity. His second marriage, which occurred when he was in his seventy-seventh year, was much like the one he had considered in Boston.

The second Mrs. Burr was Eliza Jumel, a disreputable but wealthy widow of fifty-seven. She has been described as an 'ill bred, ill tempered, ill minded old woman, . . . eccentric to a degree which might have foretold her approaching insanity; [but] she was for her day, quite enormously wealthy'.[79] Burr immediately assumed charge of her fortune and proceeded to spend it lavishly, or to risk it in the wildest sort of speculations. Mrs. Eliza Bowen Jumel Burr was too tight-fisted to permit this squandering of her means, and after finding her husband bedded in Jersey City with one Jane McManus, sued for divorce.[80]

Besides his marriages, courtships, and liaisons, much evidence is available to prove the kind of affection and help he desired from women, and the frequency and nature of his relations with prostitutes or 'touched women'.

Freud has given a very complete picture of the man with an excessive mother attachment, and the kind of affection he demands. In such an individual 'the libido has dwelt so long in its attachment to the mother . . . that the maternal characteristics remain stamped on the love objects chosen later . . . so long that they all become easily recognizable as mother-surrogates'.[81]

> 'In [this] type if the love objects chosen are above everything mother-surrogates, then the formation of a long series of them, which seems so directly to contradict the condition of fidelity to the woman, becomes comprehensible as well. We learn through other examples which psychoanalysis has

[78] Bixby, William K.: *Op. cit.*, II, p. 448.
[79] Wandell, Samuel H., and Minnigerode, Meade: *Op. cit.*, II, p. 324.
[80] *Ibid.*, II, p. 325.
[81] Freud: Coll. Papers, IV, p. 196.

brought to light, that the pressing desire in the unconscious for some irreplaceable thing often resolves itself into an endless series in actuality—endless for the very reason that the satisfaction longed for is, in spite of all, never found in any surrogate.' [82] . . . [Thus] 'passionate attachments of this kind are repeated so many times over with all the same peculiarities—each an exact replica of the others—in the lives of those belonging to this type; indeed, in consequence of external conditions, such as changes of residence and environment, the loved objects may be so often replaced by others that in the end it comes to a long chain of such experiences being formed.' [83]

The attraction which widows have for some men is explained by A. L. Cochrane in his article, A Little Widow is a Dangerous Thing.[84]

'The connection between man in relation to the widow and the son, in relations to his mother, begins to dawn upon us. The boy's childish fancy, which had perforce to remain unrealized, can, later in life, find a partial fulfilment in the widow. The widow represents the mother, who, through the death of the father, can now be approached by the son.'[85] . . . 'If we now consider widows of our own time, we find that their attraction has lost some of its mystery but none of its charm. A widow has a definite meaning for our unconscious—the father is dead, the way is free.' [86]

A brief quotation from an article by the German analyst Barag, *Zur Psychoanalyse der Prostitution,* gives some indication of the connection between Burr's mother attachment and his frequent relations with prostitutes.

'Haben wir in der Dirne als Sexualobjekt die begehrte Mutterimago erkannt, so können wir nun über das bei ihr

[82] *Ibid.,* IV, p. 197.
[83] *Ibid.,* IV, p. 195.
[84] Int. J. Psa., XVII, 1936, pp. 494–509.
[85] *Ibid.,* p. 507.
[86] *Ibid.,* p. 509.

erstrebte Sexualziel Genaures aussagen. Wir sehen, dass die frühkindliche Situation des von der Mutter Genährt- und Gepflegtwerdens erstrebt wird. Die oralerotischen Zusammenhänge liegen so klar zu Tage, dass sie keines Kommentars bedürfen.' [87] *. . . Zusammenfassend dürfen wir nun die Behauptung aufstellen, dass es "eine ganz bestimmte Mutterimago" ist, die der Klient sucht, nämlich die "prägenitale Mutter".'* [88]

Burr's first wife was not only his adviser and critic in matters of dress—'You know I am never pleased except with your taste', he once wrote her [89]—but she had an important voice in the management of all his business affairs. Burr's biographer, Matthew L. Davis, who knew him intimately for a period of thirty or forty years and whose acquaintance antedated this marriage, wrote of her:

> 'On these occasions [when Burr had to be absent from the city] all his instructions in relation to lawsuits in which he was employed as counsel, or papers connected therewith, were communicated to the attorney or clerk in the office through Mrs. Burr. She appeared to be held responsible for the punctual and prompt performance of any duty required of them. To him she was indeed a helpmate; for she not only had charge of his domestic concerns; but was counseled with, and intimately associated in, all his business transactions.' [90]

Burr dearly loved to be fondled, nursed, and caressed. He made large demands for affection. If it was given to him, he received it gratefully; if it was withheld, he was willing to buy the outward semblance of affection. But free or cash, Burr had to be loved. As the records of his European sojourn amply indicate, he frequently went cold or hungry to spend on a prostitute, or to give to a pretty child. A letter he wrote to Mrs. Prevost a short time prior to their marriage is remarkable,

[87] Barag, G.: *Zur Psychoanalyse der Prostitution.* Imago, XXIII, 1937, p. 341.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 342.
[89] Davis, Matthew L.: *Op. cit.*, I, p. 103.
[90] *Ibid.*, I, p. 252.

not so much for its indication of his affection for her, as it is for the evidence which it gives concerning the kind of affection he hoped to receive.

> 'I took the Indian cure for the headache. Made a light breakfast of tea, stretched myself on a blanket before the fire, fasted all evening, and then tea again. I thought through the whole day, that if you could sit by me, and stroke my head with your little hand, it would be well; and that when we are formally united, far from deeming a return of this disorder *un malheur,* I should esteem it a fortunate apology for a day of luxurious indulgence, which I should not otherwise allow myself or you.' (December 5, 1781) [91]

Of one of his mistresses he writes in his journal:

> [After a chat with Bentham.] 'Home at ½ p. 9. *Mal tete.* Cream of tartar punch which kept me up till 5. Madame P. sat with me till 3 and nursed me with great tenderness.' [92]

Of his relations with prostitutes, suffice it to say that in his busiest days in Europe he rarely failed to record times spent with some prostitute he had encountered on the way. In his neediest days he finds it easier to defer eating than to postpone *muse,* the term he uses in his journal for sexual intercourse. Almost daily, he records some cash transaction with *'la belle Hanoverenne', 'une jolie jungfrau',* a 'luscious biped', some attractive *'paysanne'* or *'corsettiere',* 'sent by the devil to tempt poor Gamp'. Many of these incidents are charmingly told and embellished with infectious good humor reminding one of Laurence Sterne's Sentimental Journey, although one will not find in Burr's conduct any of those curious inhibitions which always intervened to prevent Sterne from completing, or at any rate, from chronicling the completion of his sexual adventures.

Burr was a warm advocate of education for women. He lived in an age when mothers were advised to develop the sensibilities of their boys and to blunt those of their girls. An

[91] *Ibid.,* I, p. 233.

[92] Bixby, William K.: *Op. cit.,* I, p. 84.

educated woman was regarded as a monstrous aberration from a divinely ordained normality of dull domesticity and semi-literacy. With this prevailing view Burr sharply dissented. He read Mary Wollstonecroft's Vindication of the Rights of Women very soon after it was first published and attempted to convert his conservative friends to its point of view, but with scant success.[93] His wife seemed to him to be the immediate source of his belief in the capacities of women and he wrote her on this subject:

> 'It was a knowledge of your mind which first inspired me with a respect for that of your sex, and with some regret, I confess that the ideas which you have often heard me express in favor of the female intellectual powers are founded on what I have imagined, more than what I have seen except in you. I have endeavoured to trace the causes of this rare display of genius in women, and find them in errors of education, of prejudice, and of habit. I admit men are equally, nay more, much more, to blame than women. Boys and girls are generally educated much in the same way until they are eight or nine years of age, and it is admitted that girls make at least equal progress with boys; generally indeed, they are better. Why, then, has it never been thought worthwhile to discover, by fair experiment, the particular age at which male superiority becomes so evident?' [94]

His daughter Theodosia, whose education became his sole responsibility following the death of Mrs. Burr, he attempted to bring up according to his beliefs, and it is generally conceded that Burr's educational experiment produced one of the most brilliantly educated and generally accomplished women of her day in the United States.[95] It is interesting to note that he was attempting to mold his daughter into the image of her mother, who personified to him what a cultured woman should be like.

This daughter was the greatest joy of his life. He was

[93] Davis, Matthew L.: *Op. cit.*, I, p. 363.
[94] *Ibid.*, I, p. 362.
[95] Bradford, Gamaliel: *Op. cit.*, pp. 93, 115–116.

inordinately fond of her and she held him in even higher affection. Hardly a day passed without writing to her some sketch of his activities, telling those things which he thought would interest or amuse her. The lengthy journals were written to serve merely as an outline which he could put in Theodosia's hands to serve as a basis for their conversations. He was always buying some small trinket for her or for his small grandson, Aaron Burr Alston. He carried with him the small portrait which Gilbert Stuart had painted of her and was forever showing it to people. How it pleased his vanity when these semistrangers, who had never seen the charming Theodosia and had only the most recent acquaintance with her father, passed some compliment on her! When his daughter and his grandson died in the year when he returned from his ill-fated European trip, most of the sunshine went out of the life of Aaron Burr for a very long time. He eventually recovered most of his former optimism, but he never again had the desire to become Emperor Aaron I. His dynasty was broken and his mother substitute in the direct line was gone.

The complementary strong animosity toward father-surrogates to such a conspicuous mother attachment was equally intense in Burr's actions and attitudes.

His father died when Burr was less than two years of age but, as it is well known, such an event influences but does not obviate the œdipus. Timothy Edwards, his mother's brother, who became the infant's guardian following the mother's death, found the boy stubborn and defiant. Edwards, who doubtless partook in large measure of that hyperseverity for which his famous father had been so redoubtable, claimed the child was brought up much too laxly under what he termed 'a maple sugar government';[96] but evidently there were aspects of the governing of Timothy Edwards which young Aaron considered intolerable. He ran away from home when he was only four years old and was not found until the third or fourth day.[97]

[96] Bradford, Gamaliel: *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

[97] Davis, Matthew L.: *Op. cit.*, I, p. 25.

Later he used to tell that his uncle 'beat him like a sack'.[98] When he was about ten years old he developed a great desire to go to sea. He ran away and went to New York. His guardian pursued him and finally located him on the vessel on which he had signed as cabin boy. Young Aaron, on seeing his guardian coming, scampered up the rigging and perched himself on the topgallant masthead. Heedless of peremptory orders to come down, he remained at his place and negotiated an honorable peace with his uncle.[99]

This pattern of insubordination is a repetition compulsion in Burr's career. At Princeton, the authorities found him quite an able student but somewhat less than tractable. Once when he was presiding over a meeting of the Cliosophic literary society, the president of the college, who was an honorary member, came in late. Watch in hand, Burr sternly rebuked him for his tardiness and the bad example he was setting.[100] After graduation, one of his friends commented that it had not taken Aaron Burr long to get the Reverend Bellamy under his thumb,[101] in order that he might gain the privilege of reading in that kindly old clergyman's library.

When Edwards forbade him to enlist in the army and sent a servant to bring him back, Burr bluntly refused and threatened to have his soldier companions hang the servant. Thereupon the servant took from his pocket a bag of coins and a letter of blessing from Uncle Timothy who bade his nephew Godspeed in his desperate venture.[102]

After the failure at Quebec, he quarreled with his commander, General Benedict Arnold, and declared his intention to withdraw from his forces and seek more congenial service elsewhere. General Arnold refused to give him permission to depart and ordered him to remain at his post. Burr coolly remarked that nothing short of force could stop him and,

98 Wandell, Samuel H., and Minnigerode, Meade: *Op. cit.*, I, p. 22.
99 Davis, Matthew L.: *Op. cit.*, I, p. 26.
100 *Ibid.*, I, p. 28.
101 Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.*, p. 28.
102 Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

turning his back on his dumbfounded superior officer, embarked in his canoe and leisurely paddled away.[103] In the Battle of Long Island, Burr happened upon some American troops in an exposed position in the path of the oncoming British. He ordered them to retreat with him to safety, but their regular commander, fearing retreat to be more risky than remaining, countermanded the order. Although the commander was Burr's superior in rank, he ignored his refusal and appealed over his head to his men. They decided Burr was right and, with a whoop, followed him to safety. Burr was able to get away with this brash bit of soldiery because it was recognized that he had been right in his judgment that remaining would have resulted only in the destruction or capture of the detachment. Another group of soldiers who remained behind elsewhere in a similarly exposed position fell into the hands of the British and only a few of them survived.

For a very short interval Burr served as an aide on the staff of General Washington. Burr found the General slow of thought, deficient in inventiveness, and excessively timid in his tactics. Washington, who was extremely dignified and devoted to military proprieties, disliked this brash young soldier who was always so free with his advice and so lacking in amenability to authority. The famous Conway Cabal incident occurred while Burr was serving with the Continental Army under Washington. Burr had no direct connection with the conspiracy but his sympathies were known to be with the group which was seeking to oust Washington. Henceforth there was a mounting coolness between Burr and the man whom posterity has called 'the father of his country'.[104] Burr's habit of disobeying orders which he conceived to be ill-judged, and his lack of respect for authority which did not implement its outer symbols with inward competence, may well have aroused in Washington a distrust which was destined to have disastrous

[103] Davis, Matthew L.: *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 78–79. This incident is disputed by Schachner, Nathan: *Op. cit.*, pp. 43–44, and Wandell, Samuel H., and Minnigerode, Meade: *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 56–57.

[104] Wandell, Samuel H., and Minnigerode, Meade: *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 61, 79.

influence on Burr's political career. It is true that there is no evidence that General Washington ever said much against Aaron Burr, but it is possibly significant that Hamilton and Jefferson, the men most influential in destroying Burr's political fortunes, were members of Washington's first cabinet and enjoyed his confidence to a marked degree.

Burr's character and career correspond remarkably to the oral type of personality. He is a prime exemplar of the 'oral optimist'. His dominant strivings were such as to make him a highly active, chance-taking, rashly optimistic, unloyal, overweeningly ambitious individual with a strong illusion of omnipotence—all established oral traits.

We have attempted to trace some of the genetic origins of the recusancy and political renegation for which Aaron Burr was ostracized by his contemporaries and damned by posterity. From these same oral determinants derive as well the contradictory characteristics of generosity, courage, affection, and good humor, the gayer, more lovable side of his personality; that side of Burr which Gamaliel Bradford described with such charming discernment when he wrote of him:

> '. . . the mere casual amusement of every hour and day was enough. He lived on the surface of his own soul, and the bright, varied, scintillating surface of life afforded him inexhaustible diversion. When he was cold and half-sick and poverty stricken indoors, he could go to a theatre on the boulevards and laugh and cry like a forgetful child. He could walk in the fields on a sunny morning and meet a gay company of peasants and chat with them and take part in their simple sports and make them think he was as gentle and innocent as they were—and in a sense he was. Or, if he had to take a long dark ride in a crowded coach, with the wind chilling and the rain beating, he could wrap himself up in his coat, and snuggle up for warmth against the stout farmer beside him, and smile, and fall asleep.' [105]

[105] Bradford, Gamaliel: *Op. cit.*, pp. 112–113.

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IN MEMORIAM

Hugo Staub

1886–1942

On October 29, 1942, Hugo Staub died in New York City, fifty-six years after his birth in Upper Silesia, Germany. With him psychoanalysis lost an original thinker, and one of its most colorful, dynamic personalities.

Hugo Staub came to psychoanalysis during those hectic postwar years which appeared unreal even when we were living through them, and appear even more so now in retrospect. In Germany, particularly in the early years of the Weimar Republic, everything seemed uprooted. The new constitution of the Reich and its progressive spirit had no anchorage in German tradition, and Berlin became a city without a spiritual hinterland, the chaotic center not only of new beginnings, ideas, and cultural developments, but also of fads and unsound dilettantism. There the new theater blossomed into maturity; modern painting began to transfer its headquarters from Paris to Berlin, and progressive scientific thought found a fertile soil. Berlin was becoming the spiritual center of the European continent, a heated battleground of new against old ideas and political trends which coalesced into a disquieting symphony of disharmonies. Amidst all this fermentation, somewhat dazed, stood Hugo Staub, a well-known figure in Berlin, with supersensitve, perceptive eyes receiving stimulation from all quarters. A successful lawyer and ingenious business man, he became the patron of young artists, writers, and actors, a habitué of the Cafe des Westens which was the literary center of the Weimar Republic and the home of the breadless arts. Many of the bohemians with unpaid bills, sitting around the marble tables, sighed with relief when, sometime between eleven and two in the night, Hugo Staub with his striding gait and jerky movements and a broad smile on his face finally appeared.

The story is told that one of the *literati* of the Cafe, when the proprietor presented him with the accumulated unpaid

bills of the last three or four days, with genuine indignation exclaimed: 'After all it is not my fault that Mr. Staub is playing truant this week!' When the story was told to Staub, he said with utter sincerity: 'Yes, I know; I felt terribly guilty', and did not understand the outburst of hilarity following his words. For Staub it was a categorical imperative to take care of the needy. After he became acquainted with psychoanalysis he explained this trend from the fact that when thirteen years of age, as the oldest son, he had to take care of his mother and the rest of his family. He used to say, 'I was terribly proud that I could substitute for my father; I won my œdipus victory and had to deserve it by becoming a good provider for my mother and siblings.' This constructive solution of the family romance was a decisive factor in his character development. To give and to help was not merely a command of conscience for him but the very essence of his existence.

Staub, like many of the intellectuals of postwar Berlin, was drifting aimlessly, caught between the cross currents of intellectual movements. For a while he found a place, neither in business nor among the intellectuals. As a consulting attorney money came easy to him. His ingenuity and particularly his passion to help soon made him an expert in salvaging tottering concerns. In 1922 he became *Regierungsrat* (Government Counsel), but made fun of his high-sounding title, and often when his chauffeur called him *Herr Regierungsrat* did not recognize immediately that he was being addressed. In spite of his financial abilities and success he had little interest in or regard for money and peered with avid eyes across the border at the literary world, at everything which the brewing metropolis was offering in art, literature, and science. He bought pictures from young painters and *arrivés* alike, read and discussed everything which appeared on the book market and became the friend of everybody who counted in literary Berlin. Finally, among all these diversified intellectual stimulations psychoanalysis won out, and after he had undergone an analysis himself, Staub felt that he had found a field in which he could play a constructive part.

With many other new beginnings, psychoanalysis also found a home in postwar Berlin where the first Psychoanalytic Institute with an outpatient clinic was opened by Max Eitingon in 1920. Six years later, Staub was conducting a seminar for lawyers and judges on psychoanalytic criminology at the Institute. Before this, in 1925, I had the pleasure of studying with him our first criminal case from the psychoanalytic point of view. Staub had both an unusual psychological intuition and a clear orderly mind, a combination so much needed and so rare. However, for him the understanding and rehabilitation of delinquents was not merely an intellectual preoccupation but a real passion. His deep-seated urge to help found here creative expression. He gave unlimited time and had endless patience in interviewing delinquents and was the first psychoanalyst to study criminals before and after sentence. Important psychodynamic insights originated from these comparative observations.

In Staub's personality, aggressive hostile feelings played a conspicuously small rôle. I seldom saw him resentful and never hateful. Whatever aggression was manifest appeared in sarcasm directed against those who were motivated by prejudice, who were conceited, ignorant, and malicious. He found great delight in ridiculing current criminological and penological procedures, in showing up their internal inconsistency and in discovering in the members of the legal profession—behind their claims of justice and preservation of the social order—motivations of revenge and cruelty. In The Criminal, the Judge, and the Public, in which book I had the privilege of collaborating with him, he gave to this resentment a constructive expression. He was always a champion of the underdog, not because he identified himself with their aggressiveness and envy, but because of a genuine desire to help.

Staub had a good foundation in law which he used in his psychoanalytic work. He applied psychoanalytic principles to the understanding of the psychological motivations of criminal behavior, the rehabilitation of the delinquent, and finally to

the study of the attitude of the judge, the jury, and of the public toward crime. Since 1913 he had been an attorney at the bar of the Supreme Court of Prussia. In 1920 he became a *Notar* (Solicitor). During this time he specialized mostly in corporation law and was drawn more and more into business. After he became interested in psychoanalysis he revived his older experiences as a student in criminal law, particularly what he had learned from Professor von Liszt who was the greatest German lawyer and criminologist of his time.

Staub's success as a criminologist was due to his keen sense for distinguishing between genuine motivations and pretentions. I know few psychiatrists or psychoanalysts with such an unerring sense for rationalizations. This might have been due to the fact that he did not tolerate any pretentions in himself. His genuineness was profound and his eyes penetrated unmercifully through the self-deceptions of others. This was not coupled, however, with an aggressive or cynical attitude; he treated this human weakness with his forgiving humor. He was a master at laughing-off the stilted afflatus of the 'pillars of society' gently and without reproach. Snobbishness and conceited self-adoration shamefacedly melted away before his knowing eyes. He became intolerant only when these vices appeared collectively and assumed social significance. During our collaborative work, he often expressed to me his bitterness against the rigid conceited judges who pass judgment with a vindictive righteousness on those pariahs of society whom Staub could only consider as victims of inadequate social institutions and emotionally unbalanced parents.

In the courts, where he appeared sometimes as a defending attorney or to give expert opinion in criminal cases, he often succeeded in introducing a human tone unknown in the Prussian courts and chuckled with delight whenever he could lure a rigid judge or an uncompromising prosecuting attorney from behind their bastion of legal paragraphs into the open field of human motivations. Usually, however, on such occasions the judge soon caught himself with visible embarrassment,

and to make up for such indulgence in weakness, energetically demanded that all this psychological nonsense be stopped and the law applied without compromise.

Staub's greatness as a man came to fullest expression in the last years of his life. In 1933, shortly after Hitler came to power, he left Germany, first for France and later for England. While in Germany he divided his activities among business, commercial law, and psychoanalytic criminology. After his emigration, he concentrated more and more upon psychoanalysis and its forensic applications. When England and France declared war against Germany, Staub enlisted in the French army. When France collapsed, after many vicissitudes, he came to the United States where he had to start a career once again. I do not know anyone who took his fate with more equanimity than Staub. Oblivious of his own personal destiny, with all the avidity of his intellectual curiosity he began to scan the American scene. Within a few months he understood the new cultural setting better than most people do after many years. With an incredible energy and enthusiasm he set out to study the American delinquent. He had some spectacular therapeutic successes with cases that were generally conceded to be hopeless psychopaths. Staub had little use for the concept of constitutional psychopathy. He understood only too well that behind the hard-boiled exterior of many unapproachable, inveterate delinquents there was a suffering, disrupted personality, and that the tough exterior was only too often a defense against an immense humiliating need for help.

When I last saw him in New York, during a conversation he turned to me and said: 'I never knew before how terribly long it takes until a person really reaches maturity. I became mature only in the last two years.' In answer to my questioning look he continued: 'Maturity means internal security. In the last two years, when I have had to struggle more than ever before for sheer existence, I have lost the last remnants of any form of insecurity. Deprivations and the uncertainties of the future do not bother me in the least. I know that I have

something to offer and to contribute. Maturity means that one does not want anything more from the outside; external success, fame, things like that. You need only the opportunity to do good, satisfactory work, and this opportunity I have here.'

The greatness of Staub lay in the fact that with him these words were not a pretense, but the truth. If there is such a thing as emotional maturity—that ultimate achievement of personality development about which much is written in psychoanalytic literature—Staub was a living example of it. He loved life and lived it to the full. His life was vastly varied, rich in a variety of emotional experiences, and alternations between prosperity and need. He was a connoisseur of painting, furniture, literature, of food and good cigars. He was a student of law, a financier, a thinker, and a therapist. He knew all phases of life from experience and from the viewpoint of the psychoanalytic observer. His chief gratifications came from giving and helping. Never a lifeless theorist nor a dogmatist, he had a wisdom and a profundity that few achieve. He will survive in his contributions to the literature and he will be missed by many.

FRANZ ALEXANDER

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CREATIVE UNCONSCIOUS. By Hanns Sachs. Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1942. 240 pp.

Hanns Sachs never uses other sciences to illuminate psychoanalysis, but in the truest sense applies psychoanalysis, which he knows well, to other fields. It is not from Shakespeare or from the economists that he makes up a psychological science approximating or modifying psychoanalysis. He takes clinical analysis, its knowledge and its methods and asks himself from this standpoint, what did Shakespeare mean by Measure for Measure? Why did not the Romans utilize machines: was there something psychological behind that? Did Freud come to identify himself with Moses?

In the present collection of essays Sachs is at his best where he holds to this point of view and is most illuminating when he remains nearest to clinical insights. In the first essay, for instance, called The Community of Daydreams, the content of which will be familiar to those who have read *Gemeinsame Tagträume,* the interpretation of creative art as a community of daydreams not only answers many questions, solves many obscure points of understanding, but is based on patients who had daydreamed in common with another person. In these patients as in artists the guilt of fantasy was alleviated by the social note of sharing. The second essay, Personal and Impersonal Art, continues the thought of the first essay mainly in accordance with Freud's idea of libidinal types. Sachs distinguishes the types of art in which the id, ego or superego play dominant rôles. The Measure in *Measure for Measure,* is the best piece of Shakespearian exposition since Freud and Jones wrote on Hamlet. As there is 'objective' and 'psychological' reality, so is there 'objective' and 'psychological' justice, and conceiving that Shakespeare saw the nature and play of psychological justice, Sachs satisfactorily clears up the action of Measure for Measure.

The Delay of the Machine Age was published in This QUARTERLY in 1933. It too is based on good psychoanalytic clincal material, namely, the work of Tausk on the influencing machine in schizophrenia.[1] The Romans in the Imperial period had all the knowl-

[1] Tausk, Victor: *On the Origin of the 'Influencing Machine' in Schizophrenia.* Trans. in This QUARTERLY, II, pp. 519–556.

edge they needed to build machines, they even had some machines which they used as toys; they needed machines too, because the slave supply was running out. Why did they not develop a 'machine age'? Sachs finds the answer in a narcissistic abhorrence of machines, an inability to overcome fixation on body-narcissism of which other evidence is to be found in classic times. Based on Tausk's classic paper, Sachs created another classic.

Similarly 'The Man Moses' and the Man Freud interprets Freud's identification with Moses in terms of what Sachs knew of Freud's history and personality. The Moses identification was foreshadowed by Freud's identification with Hannibal, to which the author of The Interpretation of Dreams often refers.

The final and longest essay in this book is entitled Beauty, Life and Death. It is an attack on the problem, what is beauty, and in the reviewer's opinion is the least satisfactory of the essays, although it reveals more delicacy of feeling, more refinement of æsthetic appreciation, and contains numerous interesting constructions and ideas. Sachs predicates a static and an active principle in the creation of beauty, and alligns these with the life and death instincts. Beauty is not pleasure, he shows by an amusing 'digression into movie-land' and animated cartoons; and he inquires whence the sadness of beauty? He explains this by a construction which necessitates, at the perception of a beautiful thing, a liberation of death instinct which is turned against the subject—a novel and thought-provoking idea. The reason the reviewer is less impressed by Sachs's contentions in this chapter is that Sachs has left the clinic and has used only the metapsychological theory of instinct. This gives the exposition a 'tender-minded' quality, reminiscent of Santayana and Bosanquet rather than Freud or Tausk. Indeed Sachs pleads somewhat for the philosophers of æsthetics.

It goes without saying that this book should be read by all analysts. It entertains, it instructs, and it encourages to emulation.

B. D. L.

PSYCHOGENIC FACTORS IN BRONCHIAL ASTHMA. By Thomas M. French, M.D., and Franz Alexander, M.D., et al. Psychosomatic Medicine Monographs II, Nos. 1 and 2, and IV, 1941. Part I, 92 pp., and Part II, 236 pp.

These two monographs consider the problem of psychogenic factors in bronchial asthma. They are the results of a four-year study in

the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute. Some impressions about the psychological significance of attacks of asthma had been presented previously by Dr. French at a symposium of the American Psychoanalytic Association in Chicago in 1938.

In an introductory chapter two allergists (B. Z. Rappaport and R. Hecht) lead the discussion from the allergists' point of view. The question of whether attacks of asthma are due to spasm of the bronchiolar musculature or to obstruction of the air passage is still undecided. While there are many similarities between experimental anaphylaxis and certain conditions found in man, they are not identical. The authors emphasize that a negative skin reaction to allergens indicates either no clinical allergy to the material, or an absence of correlation between mucous membrane and skin sensitivity. This point of view excludes the possibility that asthma may be due to emotional factors alone, because the above-mentioned factor always has to be considered. To the final sentence of the authors that '. . . a close collaboration of the allergist and analyst in each case studied is necessary for an evaluation of the rôle of *psychogenic* factors in asthma', the reviewer would add: '. . . and of the rôle of the *allergic* factors, too'.

In surveying the literature on psychogenic factors in asthma, French states that while there seems to be fairly general agreement among allergists that psychological and allergic factors may stand in a supplementary relationship to each other, everybody agrees that there is great difficulty in distinguishing sharply between allergic and psychologic factors in the etiology of asthma. In a chapter reviewing the psychoanalytic literature, French finds among the very considerable variety of emotional conflicts mentioned that the outstanding ones are: the suppression of any sort of intense emotion; threats to dependent relationships and to the security based upon them; sexual conflicts. The outstanding personality traits of asthmatic children quoted in the literature are overanxiety, lack of self-confidence, and a clinging dependence on the parents.

In the first of three chapters on psychogenic factors French outlines the method and the purpose of this study of nineteen patients who were under psychoanalytic treatment for a prolonged period (six months or more); eight cases remained under observation for only a very short time. The purpose was to determine whether the emotional situations, that seemed to precipitate the attacks, present

any specific common characteristic. French finds many instances which illustrate, first that the asthmatic attack is a reaction to the danger of separation from the mother; second, that the attack is a sort of equivalent of an inhibited and repressed cry of anxiety or rage; third, that the sources of danger of losing the mother are due to some temptations to which the patient is exposed.

In the second part of the summary French discusses the characteristic defenses during asthma-free periods. He classifies these defenses in three groups. One is expressed in the urge to seek reconciliation with the mother by means of confession. Another is acted out in the attempt to master a traumatic event, for instance, sexual temptation by aggressive and provocative behavior. In the third group, patients tend to defend themselves by withdrawing and by making themselves independent of the mother by means of autoerotic, anal-erotic or impulse substitutes. If these defenses break down, the asthmatic attack occurs. French has the impression that the situation which precipitates the asthmatic attack has an acute traumatic character, for instance when the danger of losing the mother becomes too acute, or when the ego is unprepared for it. French finds a considerable range of divergences in the personality structure of asthmatics. However, the outstanding characteristics of these patients is unpreparedness to assume the responsibilities of caring for others. The urge to aggressive mastery of the environment and to independence is in these patients largely absorbed in the task of mastering the fear of being left alone.

In the third part of the summary French raises the question: 'Which is primary – emotional conflict or asthma attack?' He states first that 'For the most part, the asthma attack tends to appear at the appropriate points in the course of the analysis in response to rather specific types of conflict situations or in response to specific interpretations by the analyst'. The most convincing evidence for the precipitating influence of the unconscious on the asthmatic attack is, according to French, offered by those cases in which gradual resolution of the asthma and the substitution of crying spells is observed.

The few physiological considerations are centered around the assumption that the attack of asthma is the equivalent of a suppressed cry. It is argued that the infant's cry is at first a physiological response whose function is the establishment of respiration at birth. The cry acquires secondarily the psychological meaning

of bringing the comforting mother, and involves stimulation of respiration. The patient however must suppress his emotion. This inhibition of the intense emotion subjects the respiratory system to contradictory and uncoördinated innervations. The asthmatic finally tends to respond to the increased respiratory stimulation with an asthmatic attack. That would close the psychophysiological circle. However, French has to admit that there is still relatively little knowledge of the reason for the supposed inhibition of crying in these patients, and that this problem is much in need of further investigation.

The observation that in the majority of the dreams of asthmatic patients, intrauterine fantasies are clearly expressed, as in water symbolism or in the tendency to retreat and seek shelter inside the mother, led Alexander to undertake a statistical study of the dreams of fourteen asthmatics, as compared with thirty-one patients suffering from other neuroses. The statistical variation of 5829 dreams from these forty-five patients shows that the frequency of such dreams in asthmatics and non-asthmatics is 41.91 per cent and 22.05 per cent respectively. These findings are considered a quantitative confirmation of the impression gained from psychoanalysis that in cases of asthma the patient's conflict about being separated from the mother or a mother substitute is of decisive significance.

In a chapter headed, Theoretical Considerations, Alexander ventures on the basis of case material to draw conclusions, being '. . . aware of the speculative nature of these considerations'. These are based upon two sets of observations which may prove to be specific of the emotional conflict in asthma: first, that the asthma patient struggles against the infantile dependence on the mother under the pressure of genital wishes which are incompatible with the attachment; second, that the asthma attack is related to a suppressed cry for the mother's help. He concedes that the question of specificity is still not fully answered. It seems to him most likely that this emotional situation between mother and child must arise at a time when the adequate expression of the child's need for the mother's help is inarticulate crying. Allergic sensitiveness must be a further specific factor coëxisting with this emotional conflict. Such a conjecture leads to the psychosomatic consideration that the threshold for allergic sensitiveness becomes lower if at the same time an emotional factor appears, and the lungs 'defend' themselves by spasm of the bronchioles via the same mechanism which

expressed the emotional conflict about separation from the mother. This concept would bring disconnected observation into a consistent unity, although its speculative nature is constantly stressed by Alexander. He submits these considerations to stimulate further research.

A survey of the therapeutic results is made by Dr. Wilson who, in summarizing the results in patients under treatment six months or more, states that these therapeutic results should not be given too much weight because it is obviously too soon to make any final judgment. Nine of nineteen patients became symptom-free, eight were much improved and two remained unchanged. The improvement of some cases after an extremely short period of therapy is interpreted as due to the great significance which confession has for asthmatic patients. By and large the author is inclined to relate these favorable results to the freedom of expression during treatment, with consequent confession of wishes and impulses that had been formerly denied or unsuccessfully sublimated. In conclusion, Dr. Wilson expressed the hope that some relief from symptoms could be obtained in suitable cases through the employment of psychoanalytic psychotherapy.

The last part of this monograph closes with 'private communications' of Dr. Bernfeld to the editors. His 'observations of asthmatic children' are based upon his study of the records of eight asthmatic children. His impressions of the personalities of these children are that they are not 'outspoken oral characters', and definitely not anal characters. Positive identification with the mother is most obvious. He notes that the fathers play a distinctly minor rôle in the emotional life of the children. The mothers cannot be characterized as of strictly one 'character type'. However, they show castrative-aggressive attitudes towards the male sex, and strongly hysterical defense mechanisms against sexuality which have an intimidating influence on the children. None of the children received from the father and the mother sufficient consistent unambivalent love. Bernfeld feels that no final statement about the psychological factor in asthma can be made on the basis of his material. However, the editors find that his generalization concerning the mother's personality is almost identical with their formulation.

In the second volume, highlights of the analyses or interviews of eighteen patients containing the material for the critical discussion

and conclusions of the first volume are presented by eleven members of the staff. These case histories are excellent and illustrate clearly the points which lead to the psychological interpretations. Nevertheless the cardinal point, that the asthmatic attack is an organic expression of a suppressed cry, remains debatable.

FELIX DEUTSCH (BOSTON)

MAN ON HIS NATURE. By Sir Charles Sherrington. The Gifford Lectures, Edinburgh, 1937–1938. New York: The Macmillan Co.; Cambridge: The University Press, 1941. 413 pp.

This book by the eminent, Nobel-prize-winning physiologist is recommended especially to those who delight to wrestle with the traditional dilemmas of philosophy and theology, using the traditional holds.

For some, it will have moments of fascination because of the wealth of physiological lore, aptly introduced and beautifully unified in a natural-scientific view of life. For others, there will be joy in finding references to Fernel, the brilliant sixteenth century Aristotelian physician-philosopher who reconciled his Christian faith by assuming that the mind or spirit utilized the body as its habitation and mechanism. Fernel's views on natural theology—the proper subject of the Gifford Lectures—are consistently cited as point of comparison or departure for Sherrington's views, sometimes in the form of a Platonic dialogue across four centuries.

The classical erudition and historical sweep exhibited in these pages are pleasantly imposing. In fact, with the integration of rigorous science, historical perspective, and philosophical acumen, this should be a significant book. This reviewer does not find it so. Nothing new has been added.

The difficulty lies in the author's almost total innocence of scientific disciplines which might have helped him. A child of the nineteenth century, he ponders through whole chapters on the mind-body problem. Again and again he asks: whence comes the mind? Where is it located? Is it correlated completely with brain activity? At what point in evolution does mind appear? Is it itself an agent in evolution?

It is a mystery. 'No attributes of "energy" seem findable in the process of mind. That absence hampers explanation of the tie between cerebral and mental. . . . For myself, what little I know of the how of the one does not, speaking personally, even begin to

help me toward the how of the other. The two for all I can do remain refractorily apart. They seem to me disparate; not mutually convertible; untranslatable the one into the other (p. 312). . . . Mind, for anything perception can compass, goes therefore in our spatial world more ghostly than a ghost. Invisible, intangible, it is a thing not even of outline; it is not a "thing". It remains without sensual confirmation, and remains without it for ever. Stripped to nakedness there remains to it but itself. What then does that amount to? All that counts in life. Desire, zest, truth, love, knowledge, "values", and, seeking metaphor to eke out expression, hell's depth and heaven's utmost height' (p. 357).

What Sherrington means by 'mind' is only vaguely evident, certainly not defined with the operational precision characteristic of his work in neurology. He says, 'We use "mind" in the meaning "recognizable mind". Mind as in everyday parlance we understand it. Mind presupposing of it what each of us experiences as "mind", feeling, knowing, wishing and so on' (p. 205); or more precisely, 'the several types of mental experience which we have; conation, affect, perception and the subconscious which escapes all words because it is subconscious' (p. 214). It is all a mystery which natural science cannot solve because it must work with the concept of energy coördinated in a time-space universe. His best guess is that mind is the inner aspect of man's physiology, and he has no evidence that it exists outside of physiology. Hence he sees mind and self as subject matter for speculation and introspection, not for research. Dewey and Mead are names not found in the index of this book; Piaget and genetic psychology with specific data on how concrete 'minds' develop do not exist for our physiologist-philosopher; cultural anthropology has not yet appeared on the evolutionary horizon. Freud is mentioned five times: twice in vague eulogy and three times in misunderstanding.

Nevertheless, in the spirit of the Gifford Lectures, A Stand Must Be Taken. With scientific fortitude, Sherrington leaves no semantic back door open for the reëntrance of the supernatural. 'Nature' knows no purpose, is neither moral nor immoral, has no values—only as 'man is Nature's beginning to be self-conscious'. Man is dominant, and 'his dominance pillars on mind'. Man must guide his own and the planet's evolution, to preserve his values: Truth, Charity, Beauty. *Homo prædatorius* must disappear if that 'climax of mind . . . altruism as passion' is to continue to grow. But is

this a religion? A religion must move, it must quicken our emotion. 'Surely Truth, Beauty, Charity provide passion.'

And thus, as a living proof of the cultural conditioning of 'mind', Sherrington—imprisoned in the symbols and stereotypes of his scientific subculture—arrives at a traditional humanistic positivism without conscious benefit of Comte.

JOSEPH CHASSELL (BENNINGTON, VERMONT)

CLINICAL PELLAGRA. By Seale Harris, M.D. St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Co., 1941. 494 pp.

This book is a comprehensive survey of the studies related to pellagra. For a student of the subject there is a complete bibliography of clinical and laboratory papers written in this field. It is recommended to those interested in vitamins and their relation to clinical psychiatry.

SYLVAN KEISER (NEW YORK)

A REVIEW OF THE PSYCHONEUROSES AT STOCKBRIDGE. By Gaylord P. Coon and Alice F. Raymond. Stockbridge, Mass.: Austen Riggs Foundation, Inc., 1940. 295 pp.

Any attempt to evaluate the results of consistent psychotherapy is to be welcomed. This book by Coon and Raymond is such an evaluation of the treatment of certain types of psychoneuroses at Stockbridge. The work of Dr. Austen Riggs has for many years been of national repute, and of sufficient importance in Boston to earn mention in one of Marquand's books.

One thousand and sixty cases out of a total of five thousand three hundred admissions were selected. From these a small number were used for the case study. 'The pertinent data of each record were abstracted and fitted together in a manner permitting the demonstration of their dynamic interrelationships. Hereditary factors, early molding experiences, faulty attitudes and responses, environmental stresses and physical disabilities were picked out of each clinical record and assembled to create a moving, meaningful formulation which renders more intelligible the evolution of the patient's disorder and his special response to treatment' (p. xi). The type of patient taken for treatment was selected according to rather rigid criteria: 'The physical set-up and organization of facilities at Stockbridge require that patients manifest a coöperative spirit before they are finally accepted for treatment. They must

retain sufficient sensitiveness to ordinary social demands to carry on satisfactorily in the relatively unrestricted environment, for the two buildings in which the patients live are not organized in the manner of a sanatorium or mental hospital, but in appearance and management resemble country inns' (p. 3). The cases were all diagnosed as either neurasthenia or anxiety neurosis by the Stockbridge physicians, and showed for the most part symptoms of anxiety, persistent fatigue, depressed spirits, gloomy forebodings, intolerance, subjective memory loss, and a marked preoccupation with bodily symptoms. The authors comment upon the scarcity of obsessive-compulsive neurotics and conversion hysterics.

The second chapter is devoted to a delimitation of the psychoneuroses according to the Stockbridge point of view. The formulations are of particular interest to the psychoanalyst since they seem to impinge upon his own formulations without ever being identical. Actually one footnote states that the body of psychoanalytic doctrine has not been accepted by the physicians. 'The symptoms of psychoneurosis do not result primarily from organic disease but are expressions of the patient's failure to adapt to the ordinary demands of life . . . the most clearly defined components of which are a marked imbalance of the instinctive drives and an inherent hypersensitivity. [p. 6] . . . Ideals may be cherished by an adult, which are quite unsuitable because of their very impractical romantic nature so that effort to pursue them becomes impossible without colliding with the limitations imposed by the insistent demands of a pragmatic world. Most of these impractical ideals appear to be the remnants of customary, autistic aspirations of childhood which have persisted as dynamic forces in the adult. . . . Immaturity is the most commonly found factor among the various faulty attitudes and habits which are precursors of psychoneurotic illness. The child normally thinks of himself as an object of infinite importance and envisages the world and its contents as existing solely for his enjoyment. [p. 7] . . . The placing of exaggerated significance upon trivial symptoms leads to undue preoccupation with physical condition and encourages chronic invalidism. Some individuals . . . may make special use of mild illness to gain sympathy and affection or to escape responsibility, often without being aware that they are exploiting their sickness. . . . Inner struggles commonly occur between crude instinctive drives (strong aggressive tendencies, unacceptable sexual

urges, etc.) and those strivings or trends which develop in response to social demands. Such mismanagement of inner conflicts engenders distressing anxiety and other symptoms which the individual is at a loss to understand. [p. 8] . . . Unsuitable reactions . . . develop in hypersensitive individuals with poorly balanced instinctive drives, especially if such persons are early subjected to unfavorable environmental influences (particularly those incident to familial relationships).' (p. 10).

Riggs' method of treatment, as developed at Stockbridge, is based upon this concept of the illness and the therapeutic technique is called reëducation and 'consists . . . in a comprehensive review of his past life. . . . The patient's attitudes towards members of his family group and others with whom he is intimately associated are reviewed. His emotional reactions with respect to his physician and fellow patients are analyzed because such concrete relationships typify the more global problem of adaptation to his whole life situation. . . . This review of the patient's life and the analysis of his personality are conducted mainly by means of ordinary frank discussions with the patient, although various special techniques such as free association and dream interpretation are utilized occasionally. At the same time as the personality review is going on, the patient is given a much simplified course of study in psychology with the object of both counteracting or eliminating false conceptions, and providing a working knowledge of the basic mechanisms involved in human conduct' (p. 11). The so called 'green books' which are the basis for this course, are printed in the appendix. Attainment of intellectual insight is the first step in the treatment and is followed by 'self-rehabilitation', in which the patient's assets and abilities are taken into account and an attempt is made to break down old habits and build up new ones.

The concepts outlined above contain so much that appears to be diluted psychoanalysis that it is difficult to believe that these workers had relatively little contact with Freud's writings. One sees the emphasis upon the importance of childhood, particularly domestic relationships, the secondary gain from the neurosis, narcissism, and transference.

On the whole, one obtains the impression, particularly in reviewing the actual clinical material presented, that the therapeutic efforts are aimed purely at the manifestations of secondary gain in

the neurotic picture and that the treatment is a combination of persuasion, pseudo logic, and transference, all of which add up to a so called philosophy of life. It is of particular interest to note some of the quoted situations to which the patients attributed a change in the course of their illness: 'One man with a severe neurosis, who reports that he received little help from formal treatment, described lasting benefit after he had viewed a mountain peak familiar to him in childhood. He writes: "I saw for the first time in thirty-six years a peak [San Francisco Mountain in Arizona] which gave me such a thrill I felt better immediately . . . and I was able to go back to work again. . . . When I saw that mountain standing up, snow-covered and as fine as I remembered it, my spirits rose so I had to stand up and yell." That experience was twenty-three years ago and he has worked efficiently ever since. He has returned five times to the Rockies during vacations and states, "Every time I get out among snow-topped peaks I want to whoop and flap my wings and fly" ' (p. 17). In one of the groups (Group D), eight out of eleven patients failed to make any appreciable improvement as a result of the Stockbridge treatment. 'Five of the eight failures sought relief in psychoanalysis and have reported definite help from this procedure' (p. 66).

This study is of importance for several reasons, particularly because it brings up the difficulties involved in evaluating therapeutic results. For instance, out of six hundred and eighty cases in the 1929–1930 group and six hundred and seventy-eight cases in the 1936–1939 group, 48.4% of the first category and 8.3% in the second are reported to be well or very much improved. The authors comment upon this divergency and emphasize that the first group consisted mainly of patients who answered a follow-up letter and gave their own evaluation of their status, whereas the second allowed for a certain amount of objective checking.

An attempt is made by the authors to compare their results with the published results of other institutions. The percentage of cases reported recovered on discharge from these is: New York State Mental Hospitals, 32%; Maudsley Hospital, 15%; New York Psychiatric Institute, 40%; Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute, of cases treated 22%, of cases completed 35%; whereas the Stockbridge figure is 60.5%.

This book is to be commended as a sincere attempt to formu-

late a system of therapy and to evaluate results. It leaves, however, some questions unasked and many unanswered.

M. RALPH KAUFMAN (BOSTON)

EXTRA-SENSORY PERCEPTION AFTER SIXTY YEARS. A Critical Appraisal of the Research in Extra-sensory Perception. By J. B. Rhine, J. G. Pratt, Charles E. Stuart, Burke M. Smith and Joseph A. Greenwood. New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1940. 463 pp.

The authors of this book are members of the staff of the Parapsychology Laboratory of Duke University, with the exception of Greenwood who is the mathematician of the group. They state their problem as follows: 'Is it possible repeatedly to obtain results that are statistically significant when subjects are tested for knowledge of (or reaction to) external stimuli (unknown and uninferable to the subject) under conditions that safely exclude the recognized sensory processes?' (p. 15).

The authors contend that ESP does occur, and their 'critical appraisal' does nothing but try to bring out and establish against all possible objections the supporting evidence. This bias of the authors limits the discussion to a degree which frustrates the reader throughout the book. This restriction, unwelcome as it is, may be defended from the point of view of scientific logic, but it burdens the authors with a much increased responsibility concerning the accuracy of their reporting, since it excludes the reader from critical evaluation of an important part of the material.

The case for ESP is presented here in the most comprehensive, precise and logical form that it has been given in any publication so far. Part One, The Question of the Occurrence of ESP, is the most important part and comprises half of the book. After describing the historical background of ESP research in a perfunctory fashion, the authors proceed to the above quoted restatement of the problem in terms of a scientific approach which is both experimental and quantitative. Then mathematical questions of evaluation are discussed in a clear and competent chapter which proves that the authors are aware of the rather intricate problems of mathematical statistics that are pertinent to their topic. Next, the various experimental methods are surveyed in a general way and some details are given about the differences in the experimental set-up where the components of ESP (telepathy, clairvoyance and precognition) are tested separately. After this we come to the three

main chapters which offer a tabulation and discussion of the results of all experimental ESP tests followed by a methodical examination and refutation of all counterhypotheses that might explain the results on a basis different from ESP.

The year 1882 when the Society for Psychical Research was founded in London, is given as the beginning of the period of experimental work, and the authors find that since then, one hundred forty-two reports of experimental studies have been published by nearly as many investigators with about five thousand subjects who have made about three million six hundred thousand single trials. It is interesting to note that more than 90% of the trials were made after 1934, the year when Rhine's monograph, Extra-sensory Perception, stirred widespread interest. About one million of the trials were made at the Parapsychological Laboratory of Duke University. Altogether, twenty-seven or more psychological laboratories participated in the research, many of them with joint studies of two and more authors.

The authors find that all the published ESP results taken as a whole, or in blocks according to the various degrees of reliability of the precautionary measures, are overwhelmingly favorable to the ESP hypothesis. Their counterhypotheses range from the assumption that the shuffling of the cards was insufficient, to subtle hypotheses about sensory cues given involuntarily and perceived unconsciously—from objections against the statistical methods of evaluation to a crude supposition about the 'general untrustworthiness (moral or psychopathic) of the experimenters'. The counterhypothesis last mentioned is treated with a lack of humor characteristic of the whole book. The counterhypotheses are confronted with the evidence first singly and then jointly, and the authors find that the occurrence of ESP is definitely established.

The three remaining parts of the book are anticlimactic. The second part, The Criticism and the Evidence, would have been more interesting and valuable if more of the critics who had been invited to comment had contributed. This part could have been, as indeed it was intended to be, a remedy for the onesidedness of the authors. Part Three, The Nature of ESP, tries to answer the question, 'what relations does the process of ESP have to other more familiar processes and relations?' Nothing of any value is found in this section despite the considerable number of investigations in the most divergent directions. There is no correlation

of the phenomenon with infantilism, psychopathology, hypnosis or mediumism. The last part of the book reviews briefly the present status of research in ESP and mentions some of the problems that should be attacked.

A book which condenses sixty years of research in a unique field and arrives at a definite and challenging conclusion merits more than a summary of the contents.

There can be no doubt that ESP—if it occurs—is a function of the unconscious. Whether for that reason the phenomenon should be included under the heading, 'psychoanalysis', as some of the psychological indices list it, is questionable. Freud was inclined to treat telepathic events as just another kind of perception, and he made the point that the knowledge acquired through this form of perception played the same rôle in the unconscious processes as any other kind of perceptive material.

It cannot be denied that the discovery of telepathic and similar capacities as part of man's natural endowment would mean a revolutionary change in our basic concepts of the functions of the psychic apparatus. Apart from this more general and theoretic interest of the problem, a number of specifically psychoanalytic questions present themselves, arising from the 'irrational' character of the ESP phenomena and the obvious relation of these phenomena to free association.

Another aspect of interest to the psychoanalyst is the rôle of telepathy in the relationship between the analyst and the analysand. István Hollós published an article [1] which at the time was the subject of much discussion among analysts. A great number of instances of coincidence between the free associations of his patients and his own 'autochthonous' thoughts led Hollós to the idea that under the favorable circumstances of the analytic situation material which the analyst (or patient) represses may be transmitted telepathically to the patient (or analyst) through the very act of repression. It would seem, then, that with the act of repression the function of conscious thinking and the communication of thoughts through language regresses to telepathy as an archaic form of direct contact. Hollós's material was not sufficient to support more than a cautious hypothesis, and it is improbable that even a vast accumulation of empirical data of this kind could overcome

[1] Hollós, István: *Psychopathologie alltäglicher telepathischer Erscheinungen.* Imago, XIX, 1933, pp. 529–546.

the doubt concerning the statistical significance of everyday coincidence. It may very well be that it is only the sense of guilt of the analyst which imputes significance to the coincidence in cases such as those reported by Hollós.

That the ESP experiments are supposed to have a statistical foundation gives them a semblance of factual finality which psychoanalytic methods cannot duplicate. What is won on the side of statistics, however, is lost in the quality of the material. The extrasensory event of the experiments consists in nothing more than the matching of a face-down or invisible card with a correct 'call'. No given correct call can be characterized in itself as extrasensory; only the whole series as such can be said to contain a component of hits on an extrasensory basis if the number of the correct calls significantly surpasses chance expectation. From this kind of experimental approach the phenomenon of ESP has assumed an entirely statistical existence. The individual qualities of a single case of ESP, its associative ramifications as well as its emotional implications, are completely inaccessible to this method. It is evident a priori that only limited insight at best can be attained by indirect statistical investigation. However, nothing more than conclusive proof, by any method, of the actual occurrence of ESP would be necessary to justify its application and satisfy our expectations. This conclusive proof the authors claim they have to offer.

The issue narrows down to two questions: the applicability of the statistical methods used and the reliability of the various experimental procedures. Actual mathematical inadequacies in earlier ESP work and the ensuing controversies left many observers with the impression that the case of ESP could be dismissed on mathematical grounds. The authors prove that such an attitude is unjustified in regard to all but a negligible part of the work. Their use of the mathematics of probability for the evaluation of the statistical data found in the ESP reports is beyond criticism except for a few details which do not concern any major point of their argumentation. At this point only the question of the adequacy of the experimental safeguards remains.

It is greatly to be regretted that no complete account of the set-up of any of the experiments is given. That this book is a survey of all ESP work might be an excuse, but the defect is found also in the original reports. As a rule, only the standardized

situation and the formalized procedures are described, and one is not told in detail what really happened. Rarely is there any indication of the irregularities which are inevitable in all experimental work and especially in so long a series as the ESP trials. The authors seem unaware of how remiss they are in proving their point in this respect. Their method of presentation does not make it possible to visualize an experiment as a whole. For example, 'precognition,' the alleged ability to call the future order of cards before they are shuffled, appears quite innocently as a special variation of the experimental conditions under 'distance (temporal)'; as if precognition were not fundamentally different from, and superior to ordinary ESP. The authors find that the results of only six of their studies are 'unexplainable'.

To obtain more complete information than that provided by the disconnected data which the book furnishes in its surveys and tabulations this reviewer found it necessary to go back to two of the original reports: the Pratt and Woodruff (1939) series and the Riess (1937) series. The latter is the most spectacular of all on account of its high average number of hits (more than eighteen hits out of twenty-five calls with a chance expectation of only five) throughout the experiment. This result is so utterly improbable on a mere chance basis that it has greater weight than all the other one hundred forty-one series pooled together. The Pratt and Woodruff series surpasses all other work in the rigidity of safeguards against possible sources of error.

Both series were made (as are almost all recent experiments) with the so called ESP cards, a deck consisting of five suits of five identical symbols each, twenty-five cards altogether. While the chance expectation of hits in such a case is five hits per run of the deck, the actual average of hits is 5.2 in the Pratt and Woodruff series. Unimpressive as this score may seem, it is very significant because it is based on sixty thousand trials. The layman may not think much of one additional hit per five runs or one hundred twenty-five trials, but he will have to yield this point to the statistician who can show that it is more improbable than throwing a quintuple six with five dice on the first trial. Admittedly the significance of the Pratt and Woodruff series rests entirely on the large number of trials. A widespread misunderstanding exists concerning the meaning of great numbers as evidence. While

the reliability of statistics is increased with an increase of the numbers of trials, this same factor can likewise magnify the effect of any consistent error. Only random errors are diminished. In the evaluation of the Pratt and Woodruff series, therefore, there is the question of whether the combined effect of those factors in the experimental set-up which could have favored the positive result, despite the elaborate precautions, could possibly have been of the same order of magnitude as the hypothetical ESP factor. This writer does not hesitate to say it could. In fact, if one or more of the precautionary measures does not function with the precision of less than one possible error per thousand trials, then the result of the experiment is doubtful. There is no conclusive evidence that all the conditions of the Pratt and Woodruff series were of such extreme accuracy. Admittedly, the quantitative evaluation of all possible sources of error is difficult; nevertheless it is indispensable in an experiment where the factor under investigation *is* evaluated quantitatively, although it is possibly of no greater magnitude. The ESP hypothesis rests on such unsafe ground in the Pratt and Woodruff series that the mere possibility that one hit per two hundred trials was credited erroneously could destroy its value. Experiments of such a borderline character are acceptable as conclusive evidence only if they are accompanied by a careful quantitative study of all possible sources of error. Pratt and Woodruff and the authors of this book have failed to undertake this kind of study. They treat the precautionary measures of their experiment as 100% safe which is certainly not a sound statistical attitude.

If ESP is a human faculty, one would expect that some individuals might possess it to a degree sufficient to produce reliably more than the poor average of an additional hit per every two or three runs of the ESP deck. The one outstanding exception in all the ESP work is the Riess series with an average that at once impresses layman and statistician as 'unexplainable'. The performance of the subject in this series is so much beyond chance that a single one of its average runs is statistically more significant than the whole Pratt and Woodruff series. Obviously none of the arguments raised against that series would apply in this case. However, in the second of the two reports which Riess published on this experiment one discovers a circumstance which deprives it of all scientific value. The experiment was conducted over the dis-

tance of a city block and the experimenter did not check the results at once after he had received the record of the 'calls' of the subject. Instead, he left both the records of the cards he had exposed and the calls the subject had made in an unlocked drawer of his apartment. The subject, admittedly a psychopath, disappeared forever shortly after the experiments, in a way which could never be satisfactorily explained. While it is incredible that Riess should have continued the experiment in haphazard fashion after he became aware of the extraordinary character of the results, he made his reports with a well justified hesitancy and added the proper qualifications to his claims. This reviewer is unable, however, to find any valid excuse for the omission of these suspect circumstances by the authors. The inclusion of this case in the body of 'unimpeachable' evidence seriously discredits the whole book.

With these considerations concerning the two experiments which presented the best prima facie evidence out of the six offered by the authors, one is justified in saying that they overstate their case and that there is no conclusive evidence of the occurrence of ESP. The revolutionary implications for fundamental scientific concepts which a positive finding would have, and the rôle which wishful thinking plays in this field, demand the most rigorous controls of experiments and the most scrupulous care in reporting. Up to now ESP research has not complied with these requirements.

WALTER W. MARSEILLE (CHICAGO)

FIFTY YEARS OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH. By Harry Price. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939. 383 pp.

This book is a history of psychical research in the last fifty years and a 'record of the principal experiments which have been carried out, with the results obtained'. The author has been active all over Europe for more than thirty years, helping to make that history in the double rôle of exposing fake 'psychics', and fighting for the recognition of what he believes to be genuine parapsychological phenomena. He writes: 'A typical stone-throwing, window-rattling, and door-slamming "ghost" made a great impression on my adolescent and receptive mind, and from then onwards I decided to become an investigator'. His greatest ambition is to bring London University to establish a Department for Psychical

Research. His report makes interesting reading and may have some value as a reference book since it seems to cover about everything that is worth mentioning in this field.

Price admits that no single phenomenon was observed and controlled in such a way that science would accept it as genuine. However, on the basis of his personal experience 'under conditions where fraud simply could not have occurred' he believes in telepathy, clairvoyance, levitation, telekinesis, seance lights, poltergeists and materializations—in short, in nearly everything that has ever been claimed in this field. There are, however, two noteworthy exceptions: he does not believe either in spirits or in the nonspontaneous extrasensory perception of the laboratory. He takes a definitely negative stand against the American ESP work.

Many paranormal cases are reported in this book with such details as to make it hard to see how the author could possibly have been deceived or tricked. Typical, however, of the queer but not uncommon mixture of naïvete and sophistication characteristic of the author, is the one case of a 'full-form materialization', supposedly the form of a nude six-year-old girl—including the hair. He counted the child's pulse-rate, deploring afterward that he had not had a chance of taking her finger-prints; but it never occurred to him that he could have held on to the 'spirit-child' until her true nature was established. Apparently the desire to participate in supernatural experiences, and the consequent willingness to deceive oneself, can overcome whatever scientific training and professional knowledge of all kinds of tricks one may possess.

WALTER W. MARSEILLE (CHICAGO)

INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOBIOLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY. By Esther Loring Richards, M.D., Sc.D. St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Co., 1941. 357 pp.

Twenty-two years of experience in teaching psychiatry to nurses at Johns Hopkins Training School for Nurses have gone into the writing of this little book. Although it is designed as a psychiatric text for nurses it contains a wealth of clinical material useful to anyone in related fields.

The writing is somewhat turgid especially in the first six chapters which relate to Psychobiology—a Study of Functioning in Normal Behavior. A brief historical and philosophical background is

included here. The last two-thirds of the book on Psychiatry or Psychopathology are considerably easier to read. Practically all psychiatric clinical entities are covered in this section.

Only three references to psychoanalysis occur in the index. There are actually a few other brief references to it in the book. Only one article by Freud (1924) is referred to in the bibliographies and no reference is made at all to any adequate representation of the subject by Freud or his students.

Dr. Richards is critical of psychoanalysis. She expresses this by a few brief comments in the text. Thus, 'It [psychoanalysis] quite frankly divorces itself from psychiatry and all the fields of the biological, chemical and physical science'. In another place we read: 'At the opposite pole [from the organically minded psychiatric group] the psychoanalytic school focuses its attention exclusively on the functioning of the sex life'. Psychobiology is held in sharp contrast to all other schools in psychiatry. 'It does not approach a patient with a mind so biased by any school of thought that it wittingly or unwittingly tries to make a case fit into some system of theoretical belief.'

RICHARD L. FRANK (NEW YORK)

PRINCIPLES OF ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY: THE DYNAMICS OF PSYCHIC ILLNESS. By A. H. Maslow and Bela Mittelmann. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941. 638 pp.

This is not a conventional textbook in abnormal psychology and its probable rôle will be as pace-setter for some time to come. In contrast to prominent texts of the last decade, it ignores the 'disorders of psychological functions' and centers its organization around the problems of dynamics. The descriptive aridity of 'motor disorders', 'sensory disorders', and 'disorders of the emotions', gives way to such realistically oriented chapters as 'disturbances of the evaluation of the environment', 'disturbances of self-evaluation', and such etiological meat as 'origins of psychopathology in parent-child relationships'. This sharp diversion from custom is symptomatic of a reorientation in psychology as a whole, but it is not surprising that abnormal psychology should be the first to give concrete demonstration since the chief source of instigation to the change has been psychoanalysis.

The book shows the influence of a number of contemporary

movements. It is written around the notion of disorder as a psychosomatic process occurring within a specific cultural frame of reference, and therefore it rests heavily on anthropological as well as clinical data. But the authors have drawn from almost every source imaginable, child guidance clinics, marriage clinics, clinical neurology, psychoanalysis, internal medicine and both clinical and experimental psychology. Curiously enough, these data all seem to lie easily together in the psychosomatic bed. As is proper in a textbook, short shrift is given to technical controversies and none whatever to interprofessional back-biting.

The text is divided into five parts. In the first, consideration is given to the conceptualized structure of the personality, the nature of motivation, and the meaning of abnormality. Part II is called Psychodynamic Processes; it includes chapters on the unconscious, frustration, defense dynamics, precipitation and maintenance of psychic illness, and an extraordinarily useful discussion of experimentally produced disorders. Part III concerns etiology. Part IV is a brief, informative account of therapeutic methods. It is properly designed for the layman and should not meet with the criticisms often levelled at such sections. Particularly happy from the standpoint of exposition is the material for the chapter on psychoanalytic therapy. A single case is followed through from beginning to end. The last part is devoted to neurotic and psychotic disturbances and feeble-mindedness. Two appendices include descriptions of projective methods of examination and statistics on mental disorder.

Taken as a whole, this book is extraordinarily impressive. As a source of information for students it should be invaluable; as an aid for constructing a useful course in abnormal psychology it will prove a most effective text.

ROBERT R. SEARS (NEW HAVEN)

PSYCHOLOGY OF ENGLISH. By Margaret M. Bryant and Janet Rankin Aiken. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. 229 pp.

'The English language and grammar are the products of the group thinking of billions of people whose minds have worked psychologically rather than logically; and the fruit of this group thinking is a system which reflects behavioristic patterns rather than formal regularity. It will be our endeavor in this book to trace out the

sort of group thinking and acting which has given to English the kind of grammar it has today and which will continue to modify it in the future.'

Authors who write such a paragraph into the introduction of their book raise high hopes of something illuminating to follow, hopes of real insight into the psychological bases of the form and development of our language. What follows, however, is disillusioning in the extreme. Upon comparing the remainder of the work with this paragraph, one is bound to reflect that the value of such an endeavor depends upon the nature of the psychology accepted by the investigators. This 'psychology' is unfortunately altogether descriptive and superficial and, considering the use they might have made of psychoanalytic psychology, highly naïve.

The authors believe, for instance, that individuals may use certain constructions 'by accident, so to speak, *without any particular psychological motive*'. (Italics the reviewer's.) They regard imitation, without further qualification, as 'a very powerful psychological impulse'. In considering the extension of the use of *do* as an auxiliary verb, they say this 'has involved numerous motives, among them the desire for consistency, a feeling for rhythm, a tendency to anticipate, a desire for clarity'. It is apparently the authors' notion of 'psychology' to make an analogy between changing fashions in clothes and in language. One could multiply example upon example of the superficiality of this 'psychology', but it will perhaps be illustrative to quote what seemed to this reviewer the most profound psychological observation in the book: 'A common human conviction, very strong among the English-speaking peoples, is that if a thing is to be done, it is well that it be done quickly. Expedition is generally accepted as an admirable human quality, even sometimes where it topples over into impatience. Action has been and continues to be the key to social progress; and the energetic and active man, rather than the dilatory or apathetic, has been and continues to be the model for human endeavor.'

One misses any attempt here to trace language forms to really important human motivations, such as anxiety, for example. One misses any feeling for the nuances of the human mind. For example: 'Certain people never do things *for a reason;* it must be *for the simple reason that.*' That is given as an instance of

'long-cutting' (as distinguished from 'short-cutting') motivated, according to the authors, by a desire for elegant leisure, circumlocution, procrastination. They miss the fact that this phrase is often used in exasperation and is the equivalent of saying, 'You sap!' to the person addressed; likewise the further fact that this phrase may be used in order to disclaim other reasons, less acceptable to the speaker, but nevertheless actually more cogent in the circumstances. Such subtleties, which are, after all, not so very subtle, are completely overlooked by the authors in their psychologizing.

Perhaps one should be more sympathetic than the present reviewer has been towards these authors who have at least clearly acknowledged a relationship between human motivations and the form of human language. Indeed, most linguists and grammarians treat language as if it were an independent entity of some kind rather than what it is—a type of human behavior, as organically related to human personality, past and present, as a fœtus to its source of nourishment. It is thus a distinct gain to find teachers of English grammar and historians of the language accepting this relationship as a fact, even though their knowledge of human motivations is decidedly sketchy.

The reader who is prepared in advance to find nothing of deep psychological insight in the work will be fascinated by the many interesting details of the development of certain words, phrases and constructions. These compensate to a degree for the feeling of having been cheated by the authors' failure to fulfil the high expectations raised by the title and by the introduction.

WILLIAM V. SILVERBERG (NEW YORK)

PARENTS AND CHILDREN GO TO SCHOOL. By Dorothy W. Baruch, Ph.D. New York: Scott Foresman & Co., 1939. 490 pp.

Dr. Baruch, long experienced as director of a nursery school and in the training of nursery school teachers, describes the organization of her school, the participation of parents, the many ways in which a school can be of assistance in altering parents' attitudes toward their children, the specialized function of the nursery school teacher.

One wonders whether the author is aware of the important rôle her own personality plays in enabling her and those working under her direction to achieve many of the successes she reports. With

enthusiasm born of love for her work she seems to suggest that anyone who is sufficiently interested could achieve similar results. It is doubtful whether many teachers will be able to follow in her footsteps although this book will certainly inspire them to make the attempt.

Of special interest to psychoanalysts is the chapter, When Problems Enter, wherein she discusses masturbation, eating difficulties, enuresis, and the emotional conflicts aroused by jealousy, aggression and shyness. These problems are approached from the point of view of practical experience to which has been added psychoanalytic insight. Analytic concepts are presented adequately though simply. One can unhesitatingly recommend this book to those who seek an elementary introduction to psychoanalytic principles applicable to nursery school children.

MARJORIE R. LEONARD (LOS ANGELES)

CHILDREN IN A WORLD OF CONFLICT. By Roy F. Street, Ph.D. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1941. 304 pp.

A 'useful' child is a happy one, because it is accepted by its environment. It is then too an 'adequate' child. Out of successful activity develops acceptable behavior.

This fundamental concept leads to the conclusion that environment and activities are entirely responsible for the character of the individual. Lack of usefulness can manifest itself in bad habits, asocial or antisocial behavior, lack of achievement or, in a word, neurosis. But this is a term which is so carefully avoided that it does not even appear in the index. The author consequently finds two means of correcting or influencing any unsatisfactory development: change of environment and change of activity.

'In school it should be possible for a child to change from one group into another without too much difficulty.' Reasons why the child may wish to change: 'He may outgrow the group, another child may enter who is a source of annoyance to him, the teacher may develop an attitude towards him which is unhealthy'. There is no need to evaluate these reasons insofar as the child is allowed to leave the group. It has apparently never occurred to the author that the reasons might lie within the child itself.

The group in itself is unquestionably an important factor in education. The children build up relationships to each other and the teacher and gradually develop a community feeling. Frequent

changes disturb the group and deprive the child of personal relationships as well as of the feeling of security which belonging and being part of a group provides. This the author does not consider although he is very much aware of the influence of cultural groups on the individual.

He is confident that children will function successfully if offered a wide enough choice of activities and if one wait patiently. However, he makes us doubtful when he writes: 'Thus, one child learns to count when three, another when six, or another when ten, and strangely enough, some may never learn at all. It is just the extreme of difference.' A boy of fourteen has difficulty with long division. With the statement that 'maturity has not been reached', therefore 'teaching is futile', 'the limitations will not be altered', the case is closed. Emotional inhibitions are strictly excluded. Children who react favorably to changes of environment and changed activity can be helped; the others are hopeless. Psychological treatment is not considered in any case.

Street, who has been a teacher for many years, has many valuable suggestions for the teacher. He demands that the teacher should know the environment of his students thoroughly as well as the child's interests. He warns against the mechanical application and evaluation of tests. The program should grow out of the child's needs instead of being superimposed on him. Children should be gathered in groups of activities rather than in age groups. The interest of teacher and child should be focussed on the activity.

Though a chapter is given to the personal relationship between teacher and child one looks in vain for any hint about how to handle difficult child-teacher relationships. Emotional problems in the school are ignored in the same way as they are in the discussion of individual cases.

EDITH BUXBAUM (NEW YORK)

SEX EDUCATION: FACTS AND ATTITUDES. New York: Child Study Association of America, 1937. Revised 1940. 64 pp.

This pamphlet is a compilation of eight articles, by various authors, on sex education six of which have been published in issues of Child Study. A foreword by Marion Kenworthy explains the need for sexual education of the young as a necessary preliminary for the development of emotional balance in adult life. This is followed by eight short articles upon various phases of the subject: A

New Approach to Sex Education by Cecile Pilpel, Sex Interest in Young Children by Anna W. M. Wolf, The Technique of Sex Education by Fritz Redl, Parents and Sex Education by Leonard Blumgart, Schools and Sex Education by Benjamin C. Gruenberg, Concerning Masturbation by the Staff of The Child Study Association, Sex in Adolescence by Floyd Dell, the Discipline of Sex by Edward L. Sapir, and finally a well selected list of books on sex education.

There is, as one might expect, much duplication of content in the articles, but this similarity of the trends of thought on the subject indicates that there is a consensus of present day opinion upon the necessity for, and the mode of imparting sex information. The opinions, in most instances, show psychoanalytic knowledge concerning the sexual development of the young child and give proper importance to the influence upon personality development of sexual taboos, secrecy, and distorted sexual information. The importance of answering a child's questions as they arise, and in an objective way, is stressed by Wolf and Redl. Wolf also discusses the lack of wisdom in flooding a child suddenly with too much information thus causing confusion, and the dangers of direct contact with adult sexuality as in witnessing the primal scene, naked adult bodies, and so forth. Also, she suggests wisely that children are interested in human sexual phenomena, and 'rarely want to know anything at all about the sex life of birds, bees and wild flowers'. Techniques of sex education in the schools when parents have failed to supply the child's needs are discussed by Gruenberg, who recommends integration of the subject in the school program as much more satisfactory than formal lectures. Sapir adds a note of warning concerning unconventional sex expressions, maintaining that 'an individual can create true personal values only on a basis of those accepted by his society'. In the article on Masturbation an opening note states that the article was prepared by the united efforts of the staff and was read and approved by twelve noted authorities on child development. This excessive caution about masturbation makes one aware that for members of the general population the subject is still taboo and charged with shame and anxiety. Emphasized in this article is the prevalence of masturbation, its compatibility with normal emotional development, its harmlessness, and the danger to the child's emotional progress of punishment or restraint. It is suggested that

'parents may register a mild consistent disapproval, on the grounds that this is something childish and necessary to outgrow rather than because it is harmful or disgraceful' . . . the 'parent [thus] supporting every impulse within him which makes for growth toward a disciplined maturity'.

This pamphlet is a satisfactory discussion for parents as to the what and how and why of sexual education. It is, in general, scientifically oriented, and offers generally accepted precepts of sexual behavior.

MARGARET W. GERARD (CHICAGO)

SEX IN MARRIAGE. By Ernest R. Groves and Gladys Hoagland Groves. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1940. 250 pp.

The Groves have written a great many books on marriage and related subjects. Among them are Wholesome Childhood, Wholesome Parenthood, Wholesome Marriage. The present volume is a companion book to Wholesome Marriage which dealt with the social and financial aspects of marriage. The authors teach at the University of North Carolina, and run a Marriage and Family Council. The very idea of having college courses in marriage and the family is a progressive one, and the Groves have played an important pioneering rôle in this movement. They are well informed on many aspects of the complex problem of human relationships. Unfortunately such knowledge does not include any serious understanding of the contributions that psychoanalysis has brought to the problems of personality and of sex. They have of course been influenced by analytic ideas but what one misses most is an understanding of the unconscious, and of the dynamics of behavior. They say their intention is to give sex information in the manner and spirit of a book for beginners in gardening. In so far as sex and marriage are like gardening, and there are quite a few similarities, the book is helpful, but its greatest weakness is in coping with those aspects that are quite different.

Failure to be happy in marriage often comes from ignorance regarding sex, and the purpose of this book is to remove the ignorance. Of course information alone is not enough, because information cannot cure selfishness, or eliminate vicious or pathological trends from the neurotic.

At this point one comes to one of the unhappiest portions of the book, a series of directions for exploring one's sexual back-

ground. 'Starting with the earliest memory it is well to run through one's personal history.' One must ask oneself the following questions.

(1) What were my sex experiences in early childhood? When and where did the first urgent curiosity about sex appear? How was it handled. What effect did this parental behavior have upon one's feeling and thinking?

(2) What was the influence of the home upon my sex development? Did I become an early victim of the bad habit of jealousy because my parents didn't share with me the secret of mother's pregnancy? When did I first associate the sex act with the union of my parents? Did I develop a fixation on either my father or my mother? How long did it last and how strong was it? Does it still influence my feeling? If so, how is it likely to show itself in my contemplated marriage?

The authors go on advising how one should analyze the influence of school and church on one's attitudes, the early training in modesty, and the rôle of masturbation. They differentiate between the *non-erotic* masturbation of childhood and the erotic masturbation of puberty. They warn that 'It is well for those who seek wholesome sex adjustment in marriage not to flinch from self examination with reference to masturbation in early childhood and through puberty'. Throughout this unfortunate advice there is no consideration of the type of person who is most likely to embark on this examination, and its probable effects on obsessional characters. As for the question of the possible unconscious factors involved, and the accessibility of some of the answers to the self-questioner, the authors say, 'Many trivial expressions of curiosity and *insignificant* events have doubtless slipped from the memory and cannot be brought back to consciousness in this effort to trace from the beginning one's development of sex attitudes. However, the more spectacular and therefore more important events can be recalled.'

The actual sex instruction and discussion of such problems as the physical sex equipment, frequency of relations, the need for mutual adjustment, some differences between the sexes is quite good.

The Groves stress that they deal exclusively with giving information and knowledge to normal people who have normal problems. The case histories unfortunately show how difficult it is for them to

keep to this goal. In fact they deal with severely disturbed people despite their lack of the necessary clinical equipment.

EMANUEL KLEIN (NEW YORK)

SEX IN DEVELOPMENT. By Carney Landis, et al., with a Foreword by Nolan D. C. Lewis. New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1940. 329 pp.

In his subtitle Dr. Landis claims that this book is 'a study of the growth and development of the emotional and sexual aspects of personality together with physiological, anatomical, and medical information on a group of 153 normal women and 142 female psychiatric patients'. The data from which he draws his final conclusions consist of the answers to a questionnaire called in the book 'controlled interview', which was given to female inmates of psychiatric sanitariums to represent the 'abnormal' subjects and to women drawn from women's clubs, adult education agencies, recreational societies, and the like, to represent the 'normal'. To the information obtained from the questionnaires Dr. Landis adds the findings of physical examinations of these women with special reference to the characteristics of the internal and external genitalia. At no place in the book is there any explanation of the discrepancy between the title of the book and the selection of only female subjects for investigation, except a statement that it was more practical to limit the study to women.

The inadequacy of the questionnaire method for the investigation of personality problems has been pointed out many times by many authorities. It is expressed again by Dr. Lewis in his foreword to this book.

> 'Some students of psychology and psychiatry may object to the interview technique used in this study, holding that such a method is not only inadequate to obtain information on homoeroticism, narcissism, and many tabooed sexual matters, but also it fails to show familial and interpersonal difficulties and relationships which bear on the subject. These students will insist that the deeply rooted infantile sexuality emphasized by Freud as constituting the background of neurotic as well as of some psychotic manifestations is not accessible to this type of study. In certain types of personality construction, particularly in the more reticent of shy individuals who are reluctant to reveal even the conscious content, it requires a number of interviews to obtain any information which approximates the truth. Moreover, repression, which in the opinion of numerous psychopathologists is the most important dynamism in all normal and

abnormal psychodynamics, could not have been taken into consideration; and that important character-determining repressed material usually is not obtainable by the interview technique. Therefore the verbal responses under these conditions can represent only surface reactions and indications, the psychosexual life being too complex and repressed to be obtained by the method of this study.

'In spite of such possible criticisms from the above mentioned angles, the method and the work as a whole is a decided contribution to our knowledge of the subject.'

Dr. Landis lightly disposes of any criticism which might arise in connection with his technique by stating that 'we cannot determine the extent to which fantasy rather than fact entered into the reports' . . . but 'so far as the affective life of the individual is concerned, absolute truth or falsehood is of no particular significance'. Since, however, some of his conclusions are based upon certain alleged sexual experiences as well as upon the time of occurrence of the experience, one cannot accept his naïve assumption concerning the absolute similarity of fact and fantasy in the development of an individual. For example, he first disposes of the œdipus complex: 'Intensive study of our information has convinced us that our finding cannot be compared directly to the general concept of the œdipus complex as it has been set up by psychoanalytic investigators'; then, inconsistently, he states: 'Although our definition of family attachment is not identical with the concept of œdipus complex, it is somewhat similar, and the relationships we have found are consistent with this formulation'.

His main conclusions are worth stating here and, in summary, are as follows. Psychosexuality begins before puberty as shown by interest in sex matters and by masturbation. Such experiences as being subject to sexual aggression, overprotection, or early insecurity in the family are associated with unhealthy attitudes toward sex and poor adjustment in marriage. Emotional attachments to members of the same sex are normal, and masturbation is common during adolescence. One wife out of three is sexually maladjusted, and good sexual adjustment is no guarantee of marital satisfaction. Capacity for orgasm is related to clitoris-meatus distance. Anthropoid pelvis in otherwise normal women is associated with poor marital adjustment. More abnormal than normal women had poor sexual adjustments in marriage and reported factors in early childhood unfavorable to healthy emotional development. Neurotic personality is a style of life consistent from an early age and due

to a gradually developed mode of emotional maladjustment. A psychotic episode is a manifestation of a 'disease process', not an outgrowth of psychosexual development.

A final evaluation of this study may be made from the statement: 'The establishment of personality patterns that will stand up under statistical analysis is new. We believe that we have demonstrated the beginnings of a methodology which may be of real value not only in the academic field of personality study but also in the practical problems of psychopathology and psychotherapy.' In the reviewer's opinion such optimism is quite unwarranted, since the technique of investigation is suspect and the generalizations unscientific.

MARGARET W. GERARD (CHICAGO)

PERSONAL PROBLEMS OF EVERYDAY LIFE. By Lee Edward Travis, Ph.D., and Dorothy Walter Baruch, Ph.D. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941. 392 pp.

Personal Problems of Everyday Life is a discussion of emotional problems, written for the layman. Since the authors are respectively a professor of psychology and a professor of education, two viewpoints are reflected. The chapters dealing with the problems of infancy and early childhood are written with true insight and the book may, therefore, be of particular value to young parents.

The perpetual problem of discipline is handled in a straightforward fashion. The value of good nursery schools in aiding both the child and the parents is clearly pointed out. The bugaboo of sex education is faced openly and the authors come to the reasonable conclusion that the most important factor here is that the parent 'see to his own sexual adjustment'. If this is satisfactory he will then be able to cope with the curiosity of his child.

The last part of the book gives competent counsel about seeking professional help for emotional problems. Detailed information is supplied about how to avoid quacks and how to find an adequately trained physician or other advisor.

This book, written for the layman, is better than many of its kind. It is at points somewhat tedious and repetitious, but emotional problems are presented with a dynamic approach. Numerous clinical examples are given, problems are presented clearly and simply, and as a whole the book shows understanding and insight.

RUTH LOVELAND (NEW YORK)

LOURDES. By Edith Saunders. New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. 292 pp.

A historical essay on the evolution of a healing cult which arose as a spontaneous religious expression of the masses and was later exploited by certain elements in the Catholic church for political and mercenary purposes, this is a conscientious piece of work, carefully documented, and displaying considerable knowledge both of current political events and of human motivation.

The style is simple and pleasing, and the carefully constructed composition has the charm of a tapestry in which the assembled historical personages are held together by a common interest in their relation to the central figure, little Marie Bernard, the shepherdess of the Pyrennes, to whom in 1858 was vouchsafed a series of visitations from the Virgin Mary. Although there are some references to Groddeck, the author does not make use of psychoanalysis to explain either the cult or the materialization of the Virgin on the basis of unconscious motives, and assumes a rationalistic attitude toward both.

The little girl's visions—she was fourteen, but immature, and seemed like a child of ten—might have been hardly more at first than simple fantasies of childish self-aggrandizement which were seized on by the crowds and converted into a miracle which Marie, in turn, was induced to accept as her own authentic experience. Miss Saunders suggests that it was the collective insistence of the masses which produced in her the conviction of reality, and she emphasizes the disparity between the girl's distressing emotional poverty and the narcissistic character of the delusion. The development of the miraculous healing cult was the result, according to Miss Saunders, of the deliberate exploitation by the church of the crowd's religious fervor. How this was brought about by pandering to the superstitious credulity of the masses, how the century-old devotion of the common people to the Virgin was harnessed to the political ambitions of the Body Ecclesiastic, and how the new cult which gave the church greater political power was sanctified by the erection of the massive basilica as an ostentatious emblem of the clergy's newly acquired political power—these are the themes to which is attached the main interest of the book.

The conclusion which the author permits the reader to draw is that it was individual motivation directed toward a definite and conscious purpose which was the determining factor in shaping

the retrograde religious movement which culminated in the establishment of the cult. Instead of exhorting those who were weak or unfortunate to seek spiritual comfort through the acceptance of faith, the church chose from pusillanimous motives, to invoke the primitive dread of the unknown in the form of the fear of disease.

What psychological means were employed and the hidden sources of their energy Miss Saunders does not recount, but she tells the chronological events with such feeling for dramatic unity that the reader is tempted to seek some fundamental explanation. It is to be assumed that the root of such fears as these, when exaggerated beyond the normal limits, is the dread of punishment for unconscious sexual wishes which are centered on the parents, and that in situations of extremity it is precisely these particular fears that religion is able to allay. One must infer, therefore, that only a threat of some impending disaster, some catastrophic doom, could be sufficient to conjure up instinctive fear, which in the projection of suffering through disease, could compel the masses to render tributory tokens disguised as pietistic offerings to the Virgin.

The author has nothing to say in this regard. Only a suggestion of a clue is conveyed in the feeling of ordained tragedy which clings to the later historical fate of Saint Marie Bernard. Her identity was soon detached in the mind of the people from that of the Virgin with whom for a short time she had been fused. As the massive Cathedral continued to expand at the expense of the common folk, the little figure of Bernadette gradually withered away and, divested of all personal feeling save human suffering, was gradually immured and lost to sight in the granite folds of the church. It is noteworthy that the church condemned her during her life to obscurity, as if pride had been her sin. It was not a vision or a miracle that was needed to bring into effect the doctrine of the immaculate conception, but the dim stirring in the consciousness of the peoples of a sense of guilt which had found its origin in the unconscious reminiscence of sacrificial murder. Whether or not the development of the cult was due to the conscious motives of individuals, as Miss Saunders assumes, or whether—as seems more likely from the psychoanalytic point of view—it resulted from an alteration in the dynamic forces which created the Christian legend, would be a subject for further study.

SYDNEY BIDDLE (PHILADELPHIA)

FAITH IS THE ANSWER. By Smiley Blanton, M.D., and Norman Vincent Peale, D.D. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1941. 223 pp.

'Do not weep; do not wax indignant. Understand.' Spinoza.

'It should not surprise anyone that the minister and the psychiatrist work toward the same end, that they even join forces as in this book; for in both spheres of activity the problem is essentially the same—to renew faith where faith has been lost; faith in self, faith in fellow men, and faith in God.' Doctor Blanton.

These two quotations at the beginning of the book give an excellent idea of what the two authors, Doctor Blanton, a psychoanalyst, and Doctor Peale, the minister of the Marble Collegiate Church of New York, have attempted, and also show clearly why they have failed. Oil and water do not mix—neither do two completely divergent points of view—earnest as the wish may be to unite them.

This book is the outcome of work in the clinic of the Marble Collegiate Church where 'average' people are helped to overcome their emotional difficulties. In alternate chapters Doctor Blanton and Doctor Peale state the points of view of psychiatry and religion about emotional difficulties. Each chapter begins with a simple explanation of certain psychological mechanisms with brief practical illustrations. Such headings as, 'Hidden Energies of the Mind', 'Fear, Worry, and Anxiety', 'Conscience and the Sense of Guilt', are followed by chapters showing the contribution religion can make to the problem.

The chapters by Doctor Peale are repetitive statements of one theme—a solution to an emotional problem can only come through faith in God. 'Sincere surrender to God's will.' 'To open himself to God and allow the divine energy to flood his receptive spirit.' 'The minute a man says with sincerity to God within him, "You take control", that very minute he realizes the kingdom of God within him and radiant life begins for him.' Although it is stated that understanding of problems is desirable, it is clear that real insight is discouraged, as in 'when the mind is firmly controlled the physical instincts cannot dominate', and 'we need to engage in more physical activity and less introspection if we are to eliminate fear from our lives'. A peaceful emotional solution of one's problems can be achieved only by unquestioning faith. This point of

view must be respected because of the sincerity of its exponents but has no possible relationship to a scientific approach to psychological problems. It is this basic divergence in outlook which makes the book completely confused and confusing. This confusion is increased by Doctor Peale's misunderstanding and misuse of psychoanalytic concepts. A single example is sufficient: 'Religion teaches us to allow only good and beautiful thoughts to enter the unconscious because of the obvious fact often demonstrated that the unconscious can only send back what was first sent down'.

Doctor Blanton's chapters are on the whole concise and give a direct explanation of some of the simpler psychological mechanisms. How he can reconcile his scientific attitude with that of religious faith is not explained.

SUSANNA S. HAIGH (NEW YORK)

THE CLOSED DOOR. By Ronald MacDonald Douglas. New York: Modern Age Books, 1941. 313 pp.

One reads this novel with the same intensity that one reads a mystery story and when the heroine, Róisin, escapes from the maltreatment of the nurses in Craigure Asylum in Scotland at the end of the book, the reader heaves a sigh of relief despite the fact that he feels that Róisin needs treatment. On the dust cover the publisher writes: 'The asylum [*sic*] scenes are definitely true to life for the author has taken great pains to get the facts absolutely correct'. If asylums for the mentally sick in Scotland are like this one, they cannot be effaced from the earth quickly enough and Scotland needs a Dorothea Dix. The scenes depicted there make the reader feel when he lays down the book that he has been through a sadistic orgy.

The first fourth of the book sketches the early life of the heroine—a life of poverty and hard work. Her first sexual affair at the age of fifteen she remembers as 'just a maze in my mind'. After this her life with her grandfather is one of suppression and repression until she can stand it no more and flees.

The next half of the book is the story of an amnesiac attack during which she has her only other sexual episode, becomes pregnant, and is taken to a hospital. Were she left in the first hospital she was taken to there would be no story because there she was treated humanely, with some psychiatric understanding; but owing

to the fact that it was discovered that she belonged to another district she was transferred to the Craigure Asylum where she received treatment that would make any normal person ill.

The last quarter of the book is about her adjustment to the world outside after she has made her escape with the help of a new nurse who had not yet been brutalized, and her uncle. The reader has the feeling that although outwardly she made a fairly good adjustment, her problem is not resolved because she suffers from an extreme sense of guilt as a result of the death of her father (he died after a jail sentence for fighting the authorities at the asylum when they refused to let him see Róisin), and her uncle who died of a cold he contracted while helping Róisin to escape. She says, 'Again I was being punished. His death was my fault. . . . I had killed both my father and my uncle. I was to blame for everything.' By a fairly good adjustment we mean that she has sublimated her sexuality in working for a nymphomaniac and in the last ten years finds contentment through identification with the family she is working for in Ireland the mistress of which is an Irish lady and the master a Scotsman.

The book does not give a clear clinical picture of the heroine but as a novel it has fascination—which is perhaps as it should be. The style is simple and direct.

PAULINE H. TURKEL (NEW YORK)

YOUR PERSONALITY—INTROVERT OR EXTRAVERT? By Virginia Case. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941. 277 pp.

This is a popular account of C. G. Jung's theory of types and the application of the theory to problems of everyday life. The work represents a translation of Jung into American 'scientific slang'. The author seeks to translate Jung's ideas into the language of behaviorism and performance psychology. On the whole, she avoids very skilfully the confusions of concepts which are usual in such a book. However, it probably will not fulfil the publisher's promise that, 'From this interpretation of the Jung theory you can . . . achieve for yourself a complete, mature, and balanced personality'.

EMELINE PLACE HAYWARD (NEW YORK)

ABSTRACTS

Analyse einer postencephalitischen Geistesstörung. (Analysis of a Postencephalitic Mental Disturbance.) W. Hoffer. Int. Ztschr. f. Psa. u. Imago, XXV, 1940, pp. 264–286.

Hoffer had the unusual opportunity of analyzing a woman suffering from encephalitis whose only manifest symptom was a mental disturbance. Periodic attacks were characterized by a compulsion to smoke one cigarette after another, accompanied by agitation and depression, and ending in a few hours with symptomatic recovery or deep sleep. After ten months, neurological symptoms were demonstrable.

Hoffer gives special attention to the effect on the ego of encephalitis. The perception of loss of motor control produces a traumatic feeling of helplessness experienced as castration, which is then elaborated in accordance with the individual's developmental history. The disease in Hoffer's case progressed showly, and the patient tried at first to deny the threat to the ego. This mechanism failing, she attempted a neurotic compromise but finally surrendered to the disease. Abundant analytic material is given in support of these conclusions.

RALPH R. GREENSON

Zur Frage dem mimischen Bejahung und Verneinung. (On Mimic Affirmation and Negation.) Nikola Šugar. Int. Ztschr. f. Psa. u. Imago, XXVI, 1941, pp. 81–83.

Kulovesi (ibid. 1939) interpreted the nodding (affirmation) and shaking (negation) movements of the head deriving from movements expressing oral introjection and oral refusal. Šugar inquires why, among some peoples like the Macedonians, the habit is exactly the opposite. This he answers with the suggestion that mimic expressions are subject to the same developmental changes as those to which Freud refers in The Antithetical Sense of Primal Words.

CAREL VAN DER HEIDE

Zur Frage der unbewussten Verständigung und der 'ansteckenden' Fehlhandlung. (On Unconscious Agreement and the 'Contagious' Faulty Act.) Nikola Šugar. Int. Ztschr. f. Psa. u. Imago, XXVI, 1941, pp. 84–87.

Interplay between the unconscious of two persons caused both of them to commit a series of symptomatic acts. Each sensing the other's unconscious intention, both reacted to the other's mistake with an error of the same psychological structure. [The tendencies involved were certainly not deeply repressed.]

CAREL VAN DER HEIDE

Charlotte Brontë: Zur Frage des Masochistischen Charakters. (Charlotte Brontë and the Masochistic Character.) Käte Friedländer. Int. Ztschr. f. Psa. u. Imago, XXVI, 1941, pp. 32–49.

In Charlotte Brontë a relatively superficial layer of intense masochism covers a deeper masculine activity. In her writings and in her life, suffering pre-

dominates. Various biographers ascribe this to real suffering in Charlotte Brontë's childhood. Friedländer represents her as a type of masochistic character whose complaints are accusations, and whose modesty and shyness cover a tendency to exhibit her suffering. A brother with whom she had a 'masculine homosexual' relationship, later proved a failure. Charlotte reacted by turning away from him and began to write, writing having a 'masculine' significance for her: 'It seems as if the loss of his masculinity gave her the power to fulfil a masculine task.'

'. . . the personality, which is hidden behind the chronic suffering, the shyness, the softness, and the piety, behind the very feminine attitude, is very different from the personality which Charlotte Brontë's biographers have described. We see a woman with a so called masculine intelligence, very clever, very sagacious, with a high degree of critical ability and with great stubbornness to achieve her aims; a woman who is able to impose her will on her surroundings, though in a soft manner, on men as well as on women; a woman who attained fame by herself though she lived the greater part of her life in an isolated little village almost without any contact with the world. . . . this combination of masculine fantasies, fixation to the father and a special elaboration of penis envy is not rare . . . her masculine activity is hidden and effective behind the cover of severe suffering.'

OTTO FENICHEL

The Counterphobic Attitude. Otto Fenichel. Int. J. Psa., XX, 1939, pp. 263–274. This is the continuation of a previous paper, *Über Angstabwehr, insbesondere durch Libidinisierung,* published in 1934. Fenichel warned against underestimating a return of biological erotogenetic pleasure in the mechanisms of defenses against fear. In the new paper he emphasizes that 'pleasure derived from successful efforts toward defense against fear complicates the picture of primary erotogenetic pleasure'.

Under certain conditions a 'person shows preference for the very situation of which he is or was apparently afraid'. This is the 'counterphobic attitude'. Comparison is made with the mechanisms used by children and traumatic neurotics to master excessive quantities of anxiety by repetition of a danger by means of which are achieved: (1) transformation of passivity into activity as in the example of the 'identification with the aggressor'; (2) belief in a magical protection gained through identification with another whom one protects, such protection sometimes contradicting the sadistic nature of the intended act; (3) 'libidinization of anxiety'; (4) 'flight to reality'.

An interesting example from everyday life is, for some people, the essential pleasure in sport in which 'one actively brings about in play certain tensions which were formerly feared'. Those for whom certain kinds of sports are 'a matter of significance in their lives are true counterphobic subjects'.

Other fear-defenses are certain types of perversions, a special type of fixation which contradicts an opposing anxiety, and some forms of pseudo-sexuality. For many who derive 'functional pleasure' from counterphobic activities, a real phobia connected with the activities in questions existed in childhood.

EMANUEL WINDHOLZ

The Feeling of Stupidity. C. P. Oberndorf. Int. J. Psa., XX, 1939, pp. 443–451. This symptom is frequently found in connection with depersonalization. It is due to the repression of an identification, and a special heterosexual type of erotized thinking. It is chiefly a defense against sexual curiosity which may at the same time unconsciously give opportunity to satisfy this curiosity.

When a feeling of stupidity is the leading symptom, Oberndorf believes a certain cleverness or stupidity has been perceived as a sex quality of one parent and '. . . feelings of stupidity are most apt to develop when identification is with the dull parent of the same sex'. This is by no means invariable, and examples of exception are given.

OTTO FENICHEL

The Covenant of Abraham. Géza Róheim. Int. J. Psa., XX, 1939, pp. 452–459. Among skeletons excavated in Palestine, some were of children who had been sawed through the middle. This is given as proof for the existence of Canaanitic human sacrifices. According to the Bible, Abraham, in making a covenant with God, cut the sacrificial animal into two parts. The ritual consists of cutting a victim into two pieces between which the partners to the covenant have to pass. This represents the union of the two partners, and also serves as a threat against breaking the contract. Róheim supplements this general anthropological interpretation. (1) The ritual is a sign that there has been a war which is to be followed by peace. (2) It is a birth (rebirth) symbolism. (3) The birth symbolism is complicated by the destruction of a body.

OTTO FENICHEL

The Prospects of Psychoanalysis. Hanns Sachs. Int. J. Psa., XX, 1939, pp. 460–464. It is an error to believe that the development of a science is solely determined by its object and its progressive approximation to truth. It is dependent on emotional and irrational psychological factors as well. Psychoanalysis is distinguished from other sciences in two respects: first, by the fact that 'not only its foundation, but also its elaboration were much more of a one-man job than in similar cases'; second, by the fact that psychoanalysis 'at a comparatively early date . . . was brought under the sheltering roof of an organization'. This organization was necessary and at first brought many advantages, but with time, certain disadvantages. 'Every organization will develop a tendency to make a practical purpose its nucleus, the center of its interest, the main factor in its vitality and activity, and the psychoanalytic association was no exception to the rule. Moreover, any organization, like an organism, will find its main purpose in the continuation of its existence.' In psychoanalysis it has caused a drifting apart of real scientific development, and the organization. This particularly affects the nonmedical applications of psychoanalysis, because the organization directed toward practical aims and a conservative purpose is onesidedly more concerned with the medical aspect. Sachs reminds us of Freud's opinion about the fate of Moses: 'The teachings of Moses passed through many changes and transformations; sometimes they seem to be quite extinct, sometimes to be reversed into their precise opposite. But, after a long lapse of time, the core and assets of his

teachings reappeared and became the guiding force of our part of the civilized world. It seems not unlikely that Freud's discovery of the unconscious and the œdipus complex will have a similar fate.'

OTTO FENICHEL

Identification and Substitution. Raymond de Saussure. Int. J. Psa., XX, 1939, pp. 465–470.

The term 'identification', in psychoanalytic theory, includes several different mechanisms. In Some Neurotic Mechanisms in Jealousy, Paranoia and Homosexuality, Freud described a certain type of object choice based on identification, which is the result of overcompensation for a frustrated hatred against an older brother. For this overcompensatory type of identification [1] de Saussure proposes the designation 'substitution'. 'While identification is based first and foremost on a relation of confidence, the basis of substitution is distrust between the subject and the object he is seeking to identify himself with. . . . When a child is learning some new gestures and comes up against the irony or contempt of his parents, far from admitting his defeat, he will, in his autistic thoughts, place himself above them; but, from a sense of guilt or from a certain sense of reality he will at the same time place himself below them. Instead of identification there will be at the same time substitution and subordination. Such a situation will fixate a narcissistic reaction and will at the same time be the basis of the vicious circle of inferiority feelings.' The effect on the superego is to make this type lack genuineness. He acts for prestige's sake and not for the sake of the thing. The mechanisms by which the different identifications are carried out are not discussed. The fact that those mechanisms consist in the case of 'substitution' as well as in other indentifications of introjections, may be the reason why both are called identification.

OTTO FENICHEL

On Learning a New Language. Erwin Stengel. Int. J. Psa., XX, 1939, pp. 471–479.

In an informal discussion of experiences connected with the learning of new languages by adult persons, Stengel explores a new territory which seems to be important for the analysis of the ego. It is to be hoped that his observations will be elaborated more systematically.

The childhood phase of echolalia is absent in adults. The adult 'lacks the primitive mechanism of identification'. The adult superego is on guard to see that words and objects correspond, making them hesitant to go ahead and just talk as children do. The greater the hesitation, the more compulsive the defense mechanisms of the adult. 'The obsessional neurotical character therefore slows down the acquisition of a new language, although it may render eventual success more certain. But even the normally developed

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[1] *Cf.* Thompson, Clara: *Identification with the Enemy and Loss of the Sense of Self.* This QUARTERLY, IX, 1940, pp. 37–50.

superego of the adult has a retarding effect upon the development of speech.' The individual images which accompany words change with learning a new language. They become more primitive and more concrete. 'Words in the native language call up a picture of a simple lifeless pattern, while the corresponding words in the foreign language call up the images of living actions.' Adult persons develop similar resistances towards new words as well as towards new names because new words necessitate a new distribution of libido. Some persons make good progress in learning up to a certain point where progress stops. 'The new language as spoken by them, seems to be the result of a compromise between the demands of reality and their emotional resistance against the new way of expressing themselves.' This resistance is primarily a narcissistic injury. Some persons, paradoxically, feel ashamed to express themselves correctly in a foreign language, especially in the use of idioms which do not exist in the native tongue. 'Foreign idioms force on us the pictorial thinking which we experience as a temptation as well as a danger.' The shame is inhibited exhibitionism.

Psychoanalyzing in a foreign language makes analysis more difficult. The linguistic insecurity of the analyst is exploited by the patient's resistance. In most instances, patients adapt themselves to the stage of the psychoanalyst's knowledge of the language.

OTTO FENICHEL

The Fundamental Conflict With Psychoanalysis. Gregory Zilboorg. Int. J. Psa., XX, 1939, pp. 480–492.

Preanalytic therapies of the neuroses were full of unconscious hostility. Psychoanalysis contradicted this tradition, and from the beginning met with general resistance. Psychoanalysis seems to be generally accepted today, but the old resistance has simply changed its form. Freud once stated that the main source of this resistance is narcissistic injury consequent to the psychoanalytic thesis that man is not master of his own mind. Zilboorg similarly sees in psychoanalysis a narcissistic blow to two aspects of man's wishful thinking: free will, and immortality. Psychoanalysis 'arouses enormous masses of anxiety, reawakens the sense of helplessness and leaves no alternative but to fall back into a stage of infantile passive submission to that which is law and to rise in protest and accuse psychoanalysis of being immoral, of removing the only basis for ethics and of disturbing law and order'. In Adler's teachings free will, and in Jung's, immortality of the soul, are clearly at the root of the respective resistances. The resistances of the scientific 'materialist' are also based on the inability to overcome the fear 'that the acceptance of the concept of a psychic apparatus, as evolved by Freud, might persuade him to give up the conscious or unconscious religious faith in the independence and immortality of the soul, and in free will'. The 'confusion of the psyche as a scientific concept and the soul as a theological one mobilizes in us a complex mass of narcissistic cathexes which constitutes the fundamental source of the well-nigh invincible opposition to psychoanalysis'.

OTTO FENICHEL

A Study of Structural and Instinctual Conflicts in Cases of Hay Fever. George W. Wilson. Psychosomatic Med., III, 1941, pp. 51–65.

Psychological similarities with particular emphasis upon the persistence of preoccupation with olfactory stimuli are presented from seven cases of hay fever that were psychoanalytically studied. Unconscious material reported by one patient, who suffered from severe seasonal hay fever, preceding the advent of an attack of acute rhinitis, showed that, when repressed sexual curiosity relating to the function of reproduction became mobilized in the analysis, the patient made an extreme attempt to sublimate the curiosity along visual, intellectual lines. This may be considered a normal process of sublimation, but the intensity of the effort and the emotional need to sublimate the curiosity is significant. Efforts at sublimation in the visual sphere did not succeed because the aggressive character of the visual curiosity necessitated the substitution of a primary olfactory curiosity, dreams demonstrating that external olfactory stimulation remained as an effective source of stimuli and conflict. This led to the establishment of a vicious circle that was temporarily terminated in the production of a conversion symptom which produced congestion with a corresponding diminution in both olfactory and visual perception.

MARTIN GROTJAHN

Some Observations on the Relations of Emotions and Allergy. Leon J. Saul. Psychosomatic Med., III, 1941, pp. 66–71.

The working hypothesis is presented that states of repressed, intense frustrated longing are of central importance in certain cases of common cold, asthma, hay fever, and urticaria. Whatever the more specific factors in the choice of site for the symptom, the repressed longing, basically for the mother, frustrated or threatened with frustration, occupies the central rôle. The longing, which is only one factor in the production of the symptoms, operates in some cases independently of, and in other cases together with specific allergic sensitivities, perhaps increasing them in the individual. It is a biological factor which apparently influences and complements allergic sensitivity in certain cases.

MARTIN GROTJAHN

Evaluation of the Results of Psychoanalytic Therapy. Robert P. Knight. Amer. J. of Psychiat., XCVIII, 1941, pp. 434–447.

To evaluate the results of psychoanalytic therapy, published reports from the Berlin Institute, the London Clinic, the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis, the Menninger Clinic, Hyman and Kessel are studied. In a total of nearly a thousand cases, 78.1% of the 'organ neuroses', 63.2% of the psychoneuroses, 56.6% of the character disorders, 48.5% of the sexual disorders, and 25% of the psychoses were successfully treated.

Difficulties in reporting the results of treatment by psychoanalysis, the aims of psychoanalytic therapy, and some of its limitations are discussed. The criteria suggested for estimating the result of a psychoanalysis are symptomatic recovery, increased productiveness, improved adjustment to sexual life, improved

interpersonal relationships, and adjustment of sufficient insight to handle ordinary psychological conflicts.

MILTON L. MILLER

The Garden of Eden. Géza Róheim. Psa. Rev., XXVII, 1940, pp. 1–26; pp. 177–199.

'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread' (Genesis III, 17). This the savage does not do in the same measure as civilized mankind. Work and civilization are misfortunes so terrible that the biblical narrator believes they can only be explained by a curse of the Almighty.

A number of Babylonian myths concerning the quest for immortality are discussed in relation to the concept of the Divine King who is the father who is killed by his son. A study of African myths on the subject of death leads to the conclusion that it is believed to originate as a consequence of someone's ill will, a projection of man's own hostile impulses. In a Yuma myth, 'death is due to incest because the mother-child relation contains not only the element of tenderness but also the more aggressive desire of coitus. Hence we might even say that if death is caused by hatred and lack of love from the ontogenetic point of view, . . . anxiety is due to the conflict with the father and unsatisfied desires regarding the mother.'

'The fruit [apple-breast] is taboo because it belongs to father and can only be acquired at the price of fighting with father. . . . The father is the enemy because the beloved woman is the mother.' Adam defied the father, had intercourse with the mother and was then afflicted with remorse. 'Anxiety, shame, . . . and punishment then appear in the world . . . the œdipus complex is repressed and gives rise to the superego.' Coitus is a sin from the point of view of the introjected father, or superego. 'Coitus itself is a punishment when regarded from the superego point of view.'

The change from a primitive to a civilized (superego) state corresponds, in the life of the individual, to the change from childhood to sexual maturity. Genitality is achieved at the cost of expulsion from the Garden of Eden (infantile pleasures). The other reasons for man's fall spring from his aggressive impulses.

This long article contains a wealth of valuable material about many variants of the Eden myth. Unfortunately it is not well organized and it is often very difficult to follow the trend. The basic idea is the light that the Garden of Eden myths shed on man's change from a savage to an agricultural society. The reasoning is that the child's separation from the mother, the process of maturity, generates aggressive impulses toward the mother which are transferred to a mother symbol, the cultivated soil. The savage takes to agriculture to have this new mother symbol, the earth as a target for his aggression.

One is reminded of Freud's rebuke in another connection, when he said, 'One would exaggerate the significance of this secondary adaptation if one were to say that the ego acquired the symptom for the sole purpose of enjoying its advantages. This would be to advance a view as correct or as

erroneous as the opinion that a maimed war veteran had had his leg shot away only that he might thereafter live in indolence on his pension.'[1]

Mankind's activities as conceived of by Róheim are primarily modes of coping with unconscious infantile anxieties. Mankind is viewed as a severely neurotic patient for whom reality has lost its significance because the intensity of his infantile anxieties pervades all of his activity against which his whole life is a defense. The neurosis itself is explained by the formulations of Melanie Klein with its withdrawal of emphasis from specific personal experiences to the most universal experiences, such as the fact that the infant does not suck endlessly but has the nipple only at certain times. From these facts are postulated complex fantasies in the early months of existence which dominate all of later life. The individual so described is then taken to be the prototype of mankind, and the collective efforts of man to cope with his real needs are said to be analogous to an individual's defenses against his anxieties. This is truly a demoniac conception of the world. An agricultural worker to whom the earth is *primarily* a mother symbol on which he projects his infantile ambivalence would develop a work disability brought on by anxiety and guilt over his work. As Freud put it, '. . . the ego function of an organ is impaired whenever its erogeneity, its sexual significance is increased'.[2]

Freud also said, 'This age of childhood in which the sense of shame is unknown seems a paradise when we look back upon it later, and paradise itself is nothing but the mass fantasy of the childhood of the individual'.[3] Róheim has too closely identified this mass fantasy which mankind often projects onto history, with the actual history of mankind.

EMANUEL KLEIN

The Mechanisms of Wit and Humor in Normal and Psychopathic States. A. A. Brill. Psychiatric Quarterly, XIV, Oct., 1940.

Brill's paper on Mechanisms of Wit and Humor calls attention to the fact that there has been comparatively little written about the subject since Freud's publication Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious in 1905.

It is the author's custom to request of his patients the best joke or witty story that they have ever heard. After citing several such examples he shows how such anecdotes reveal important information to the analyst regarding the patient's personality with reference to conscious and unconscious trends. This is explicable on the supposition, Brill later explains, that the patient is induced to identify himself with the hero of the jest, on the basis of the well-known mechanism which Freud describes in his article on humor, that the ego identifies itself with its superego, and views with a kind of parental indulgence, its own short-comings. The mechanism is most clearly illustrated

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[1] Freud: *The Problem of Anxiety.* New York: The Psa. Quarterly Press and W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1936.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[3] Freud: *Interpretation of Dreams.* Third Eng. Edition. London: Allen & Unwin, p. 294.

in *Galgenhumor* where the entire organism is threatened with annihilation, and in which the underlying purpose is an attempt to deny the impending danger. Somewhat similar mechanisms and reactions are manifested in other situations as for instance, the Ganzer-like reactions of certain criminals when they are caught or convicted, the inept joking of paretics, or the euphoria in certain cases of brain tumor or pernicious anæmia. Such reactions may be attended with profound emotional disturbances, detachment from reality, which serve the mechanism of denial and help to bind anxiety.

Putting aside the author's request for a joke from his patients, one may fully concur with his timely suggestion that greater attention should be devoted to the production of wit during analytic treatment, and to the requisite technique to be employed by the analyst in the utilization of such material.

In regard to the former, the author has made a passing reference to jokes which liberate genital urges and others which are based on pregenital impulses. It is to be regretted that though he has offered some interesting clinical material, he has not initiated any detailed program for further investigation of material met with in analysis, such for instance as a classification of different forms of wit as an ego defense. In regard to the latter topic which Brill does not specifically mention, one might consider how far Freud's method of the systematic reduction of wit might be employed as a separate analytic technique.

SYDNEY BIDDLE

The Relationship of Latent Homosexuality to the Mechanism of Paranoid Delusions. Robert P. Knight. Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, IV, No. 5, 1940.

'What is the basis of the strong homosexual wish?' and, 'Why is the paranoiac compelled to deny this wish so utterly?' The strong drive to love and to be loved in the paranoiac is developed to neutralize and erotize unconscious hatred. The intensity of the hatred is such that unbearable anxiety is produced when any trace of homosexuality is perceived: 'I must love him and be loved by him to neutralize my hatred for him; but the nearer I get to him the more dangerous the relationship becomes for me and for him.'

The fact that the paranoiac is fixated at an anal-sadistic level accounts for the homosexual character of the dangerous love. The œdipus conflict is sometimes solved by passive submission to the father, but this love for the father is strongly ambivalent, and the *degree of intensity* of anal sadism must determine whether the individual becomes an overt homosexual or is forced into the paranoid attempt to repress.

The paranoid projection is characteristically anal-expulsive, and successful repression of the anal sadism is analogous to retention of the bowel content. 'Explosive expulsion of the bowel contents would represent the bursting through the repressive barriers of the anal sadism, which is then attributed to an outside object, and, in fact, equated to an outside, now dangerous, object.' As a corollary, '. . . the bowel contents represent the father's penis which, has thus, in fantasy, been anally possessed'.

An illustrative case is reported.

CHARLES W. TIDD

Old Age and Aging. Section Meeting, 1939. Amer. J. of Orthopsychiat., X, 1940, pp. 27–87.

Paul Schilder believes that the conflicts involved in the psychoses and neuroses of middle and old age center around the feeling of sexual, mental and physical incapacity and the fear that one's erotic value is diminished. If the previous life experience has been unsatisfactory and the patient feels of no value to anyone, he may develop a psychosis. In the involutional depression the primary conflict is the fear of impairment of bodily function and sexual capacity. The patient may ward off his anxiety by using projection as a defense, fears of castration or of being robbed taking the place of the primary anxieties. At other times patients may use the defenses of increased fantasy and sexual tension, which in turn lead to guilt and again projection. The persecutors in the paranoid types of involutional depression often represent the endangered parts of the body. Introjections may alternate with projections to complicate the picture. The tremendous aggressions of these patients lead to extreme guilt feelings and sometimes to suicide. Often the object relationships become more primitive and part-objects take the place of whole-objects. Involutional paranoia and senile paranoia show predominantly sexual conflicts (fear of failure) which are solved by projections. The organic cases show deterioration, which is essentially a regression in both the intellectual and the emotional spheres. Intellectual regression is shown by the return to primitive gestalt principles in drawings and clay modeling. The libidinous regression appears in memory disturbances, which enable the patient to live out his infantile wishes, as, for example, by making himself the hero of every story. Through regression the anxiety of the presenium is overcome. There is a difference, however, from the regression in schizophrenia in that the patient goes back, not to a magical world, but to one which fulfils all his earlier wishes.

M. Ralph Kaufman believes that analysis is applicable to older people both for research and therapy, citing two cases of his own as proof. He discusses Helene Deutsch's views on the menopause as essentially a severe narcissistic blow to the woman, to which she first reacts by attempts at compensation in the form of increased erotic drives. Later a regression occurs in which the genital is devaluated and clitoris masturbation is revived with reversed œdipus fantasies (the son taking the place of the father and the daughter that of the mother). Kaufman believes that there is a similar conflict in men, occasioned by the loss of potency, and that the differences between the sexes are due to the differences in available sublimations. He cites some material suggesting that in organic brain disease the forgetting is organically determined but the content of the forgotten material is conditioned by emotional factors. The author believes that the rigidity of the ego, arises from a violent attempt to repress anxiety by means of increased fixity of reaction formations. This leads to a certain 'brittleness of the personality' with a tendency to psychotic reactions in the face of severe conflicts. He mentions the ambivalence of the young toward the old, and concludes by repeating that analysis is the method of choice for research and therapy in the aged.

Samuel Atkin cites two cases showing that the rigidity of the ego is simply a defense against anxiety, expressed by a refusal to admit the possibility of altering one's evaluation of the environment or of the values of life. In his patients, the defense was treatable but it was quantitatively stronger than the defenses usually encountered. The strength of this defense corresponds to the fact that the organs most affected by old age are those having the highest narcissistic investment: the genitals, the brain and the skin. The ego is weakened by the impairment of the special senses and intelligence, whereas the strength of the pregenital instinctual drives remains unaltered. A weakened ego is thus called upon to master relatively greater quantities of anxiety. The need to retest reality either in life or in the therapeutic situation creates more anxiety which threatens to exceed the ego's capacity to master it. This conflict predisposes to psychosis. A certain portion of this rigidity or conservatism may represent an ego attitude developed from life experiences, but practically this quantum cannot be separated from defensive conservatism. When aging is felt to be an objective danger, the regressive fantasies ('I am a baby') express not only early infantile wishes, but are also defenses against the fear of physical impairment. Atkin suggests that the rate of aging is an important factor determining whether the individual's adaptation to old age will be neurotic or normal. Thus the greater frequency of involutional disturbances in women is probably related to the relative suddenness of the menopause in the woman. The greater variety of sublimations available lessens the shock of aging for men.

A. H. VANDER VEER

Selective Service Psychiatry. Schizoid and Related Personalities. Mood Disorders and Psychopathic Personalities. Dexter Means Bullard. Psychiatry, IV, No. 2, 1941.

From the standpoint of the Army which has to cope with them now, and of the Veterans Bureau which has to care for them later, persons suspected of psychotic or psychopathic personalities are far better off if they are left to the pursuit of their civilian activities than if they are inducted into a service which makes more demands upon them than they are able to endure.

MARTIN GROTJAHN

Recent Advances in Psychoanalytic Therapy. Frieda Fromm-Reichmann. Psychiatry, IV, No. 2, 1941.

Recent advances in psychoanalytic treatment come from reviewing the instinctivistic concepts of human drives and desires; from giving more consideration to the cultural and realistic aspects of the patient's outer world, his personal relationships in general, and with the analyst; from putting more stress than previously on the exposure of conscious defenses, and, from including psychoses, psychosomatic syndromes, and neurotic characters in the list of those who may receive psychoanalytic treatment. Many persons, especially those who do not ask for more than a cure of isolated symptoms, should be given shorter psychotherapeutic methods which are simpler and less expensive than psychoanalysis in its present state of development.

MARTIN GROTJAHN

Some Notes, Historical and Psychoanalytical, on the People of Israel and the Land of Israel with Special References to Deuteronomy. E. M. Rosenzweig. Amer. Imago, I, 1940, pp. 50–64.

No signs of an attachment to a mother goddess are manifest in Jewish tradition. This is explained by a displacement of the libidinous cathexis from the mother to the land. The bridge between the conceptions 'mother' and of 'land' was formed by the worship of sacred places. Prophets who were 'patriarchally' inclined were opposed to such worships, but were not very successful until the great reforms under Joshua, 'under the ægis of the newly found book of Deuteronomy'. The prophetic leaders 'ultimately persuaded the whole people to direct their libido not towards a limited locale but towards the all embracing land itself'. The maternal significance of the land explains many trends of 'threshold magic' and 'threshold sacrifices' in the Jewish ritual. A certain antagonism between fear of God and love for the land continues. The modern increase of atheism corresponds to the development of Zionism.

OTTO FENICHEL

Flight from Home. Frederick Rosenheim. Amer. Imago, I, 1940, pp. 1–30.

On the basis of fragments of his life history and of his books, Mardi, and Redburn, Rosenheim attempts to shed some light on Melville's deeper psychology. Only his early career is considered, up to the age of 32, before he wrote Moby Dick. Melville was the second eldest son in a family of eight children. After his father's death, when Melville was fifteen, the eldest son assumed the support of the entire family. The seventeen-year-old Melville shipped as a common sailor for Liverpool, in what Rosenheim designates as his first flight from home. Returning, Melville made a second unsuccessful attempt to adjust, followed by a second flight from home, a four year sailing voyage on a whaler, later to provide him with the background for the majority of his stories.

In his book, Mardi, especially prominent are the themes of fleeing and being pursued, strong father-figures in various rôles, striking eating orgies and cannibalistic fantasies. On the basis of this material Rosenheim attributes Melville's second flight from home to his dread of retribution, his guilt and his fear of punishment for his father's death. Melville opposes his anxiety with a reckless assault upon the world and overly brave facing of its worst terrors, with gratifications on a cannibalistic level.

For the most part, Rosenheim's interpretations are carefully drawn and conservative. It is regrettable that there are so few historical data and no bibliography.

RALPH R. GREENSON

A Prophetic Dream Reported by Abraham Lincoln. George W. Wilson. The Amer. Imago, I, 1940, pp. 42–48.

Evidence is presented to justify the opinion that Abraham Lincoln unconsciously wished to be assassinated. The people around Lincoln were not surprised at the news of his assassination; they had warned him repeatedly about the utterly careless manner in which he exposed himself to physical attack. Several times Lincoln publicly expressed the belief that he would not live through his

second term as president. Wilson quotes a long dream whose manifest content demonstrates Lincoln's unconscious exhibitionistic and self-destructive impulses. This dream occurred shortly before his death and was regarded by Lincoln as a prophetic dream. Several instances are cited in which Lincoln refers to death as a release from the torment of living.

RALPH R. GREENSON

John Wilkes Booth: Father Murderer. George W. Wilson. Amer. Imago, I, 1940, p. 49.

John Wilkes Booth was suffering from paranoia and his murder of Lincoln was a compulsive act, representing not only a patricidal impulse, but unconscious suicide as well. Wilson believes that Booth identified Lincoln with his father, and the South with his mother and sister. With the return of the South to the Union, Booth's repressed hatred was reactivated and he developed the fantasy of rescuing the oppressed mother. Booth's father was an actor who had gained considerable fame in the rôle being played on the stage at that time. That Booth unconsciously committed suicide is borne out by the fact that he made no attempt to disguise his identity and that he hoped to be acclaimed a hero.

RALPH R. GREENSON

Necrophilia. A. A. Brill. J. of Criminal Psychopathology, II, No. 4, 1941.

The specific origin of the unusual aberration of necrophilia is still unknown. Brill describes in detail two cases, the first an effeminate, passive homosexual man. He was intimidated by an aggressive father, had a very 'nervous' mother, identified himself with his numerous sisters, was seduced by a boy cousin when he was four, and continued to seek homosexual experiences thereafter. Originally fearful of dead bodies, he developed a strong attraction for corpses which caused him to become an undertaker's assistant. This patient's necrophilia was determined by equating dead bodies with his mother and grandmother on whom he was fixated, plus the fact that, since the dead bodies were helpless, he could express his homosexuality regarding them without fear of physical harm.

The second case is that of a young man who, almost blind from birth, had both eyes surgically enucleated at the age of four. He was eighth among thirteen children, five of whom died in early life. He had a strong urge to drink blood, and confessed to frank fantasies of attacking the breast of a dead mother to obtain milk. The patient's 'copro- and necrophagism developed in association with his enhanced sense of smell'. There was a functional overdevelopment of the patient's other senses as the result of the loss of his sight. He was fixed almost solely at a pregenital level, chiefly craving epidermal contact.

[Little is said about this patient's possibly intense repressed hostility to his father, mother and siblings—all of which must have been fraught with severe conflict. Although some of the fantasies (wallowing in a dead woman's body as described by the author) indicate a desire to return to the mother's womb, it seems likely also that the anal character of the fantasies suggests some fundamental, primitive hostility toward the mother's child-bearing function.]

MILTON L. MILLER

The Couvade in Modern England. W. S. Inman. Brit. Jour. Med. Psychol., XIX, 1941, pp. 37–55.

Stimulated by folklore association of eye affections and childbirth and the relationship between styes and menstruation, the author found, in a succession of 158 patients, that an exceptional interest in childbirth was present in 92% of patients with styes, in 80% with tarsal cysts, and in only 23% of those suffering from other eye conditions. He then cites a long series of clinical cases in which diseased conditions of the eye were found invariably to be associated with an interest in childbirth [? sexual curiosity] and he speculatively discusses this as a couvade manifestation and hence as an unexpected demonstration of the significance of emotional forces in the genesis of somatic disorders.

MILTON H. ERICKSON

The Psychology of Propaganda. R. Money-Kyrle. Brit. Jour. Med. Psychol., XIX, 1941, pp. 82–94.

Suggestibility to propaganda varies with the degree of the individual's independence or maturity. This, in turn, reflects the extent of the assimilation of the ideal parent figures, which, if predominantly good and helpful, were readily absorbed to form the foundation of a well-balanced and independent character. Predominantly bad parent figures are difficult to absorb, arouse anxiety, and remain in the unconscious as internal persecutors with a resulting character development of dependency, readily influenced by others.

Suggestibility also depends upon the source of propaganda. People are particularly sensitive to the influence of a good parent figure sought in the external world to protect them from persecution by bad 'internal' parent figures. To be effective, propaganda must correspond with or symbolize existing unconscious fantasies. It should begin with an appeal to fear by pointing out symbols of bad parents, thus arousing unconscious fantasies for which can then be erected compensatory symbols of good parents to lend support in facing reality dangers greater than the imaginary ones created by the appeal to fear.

MILTON H. ERICKSON

Algunos Conceptos Fundamentales de la Teoria Psicoanalitica de la Epilepsia. (Some Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalytic Theory on Epilepsy.) E. Pichon Riviere. Index de Neurologia y Psiquitria, III, 1941, p. 75.

This is a detailed review of all psychoanalytic research about epilepsy. The presentation is excellent, and offers a complete survey of psychoanalytic concepts concerning epilepsy.

ANGEL GARMA

Revista de Neurologia e Psiquiatria de São Paulo. Vol. VII, No. 6, November–December, 1941.

This issue of the *Revista de Neurologia e Psiquiatria de São Paulo* is devoted to a review of the psychoanalytically oriented work of the São Paulo Child Guidance Clinic.

This clinic was founded in 1938 with the recognition and support of the São Paulo State education authorities, for the purpose of supervising mental

hygiene in public schools. The foundation of the clinic is due to the personal initiative of Dr. Durval Marcondes, foremost psychiatrist and psychoanalyst of the City of São Paulo. His staff includes two psychiatrists, an examining physician, four psychologists and six psychiatric social workers. Dr. Marcondes has been analyzed and has had a thorough training in psychoanalytic theory and method, requirements for each of his collaborators. The organization of the clinic is similar to that of the New York Institute of Child Guidance.

In Mental Hygiene in Schools Through Clinical Guidance for Children, Dr. Marcondes first sketches the development of the American Mental Hygiene and Child Guidance movement, and then describes the activities of the São Paulo clinic and reports a typical case which has been successfully treated through the application of psychoanalytically oriented techniques to the maladjusted child.

Dr. Marcondes contributes a second paper on the problems of mentally handicapped children. Dr. Jose Inacio Lobo, examining physician, and Dr. Mario Velez, psychiatrist, discuss hypogonadism in 'normal' and 'problem' children. Dr. Joi Arruda considers the advisability and means of collecting statistics about psychogenic disturbances. Dr. Mario Velez discusses psychomotor disturbances. Miss Virginia Leone Bicudo, visiting psychiatrist, describes the possibilities of treating and advising teachers and parents of difficult children. In the concluding article Mrs. Lygia Alcantara treats the problem of the shy or inattentive child and the possibilities of changing its attitude by influencing its parents or teachers.

ADELHEID KOCH

NOTES

The BOSTON PSYCHOANALYTIC INSTITUTE makes the announcement that a Psychiatric Clinic has been opened under its auspices at 82 Marlborough Street, Boston, Massachusetts. It will be 'a psychotherapeutic clinic for ambulatory patients whose problems are related to the present war situation'. Major M. Ralph Kaufman, A.U.S., M.C., is the Director of the Clinic jointly with Dr. Felix Deutsch of Boston. Eighteen psychiatrists, five assistant psychiatrists, and two psychologists are on the staff of the Clinic. The majority of them have psychoanalytic training or are well-known psychoanalysts. A staff of consultant physicians embraces all branches of medicine, from endocrinology to otolaryngology.

THE SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOANALYTIC SOCIETY recently became a member of the American Psychoanalytic Association.

The Society was organized by ten charter members: Dr. William Barrett of San Francisco, Dr. Bernhard Berliner of San Francisco, Dr. Otto Fenichel of Los Angeles, Dr. George Gero of New Mexico State College, Dr. Bernard Kamm of Chicago, Dr. J. Kasanin of San Francisco, Dr. Donald A. Macfarlane of Berkeley, Dr. Douglas Orr of Seattle, Dr. Ernst Simmel of Los Angeles, Dr. Emanuel Windholz of San Francisco.

Dr. Ernst Simmel was elected President, Dr. Bernhard Berliner, Vice President, and Dr. J. Kasanin, Secretary-Treasurer.

An extensive educational program is being developed, both in San Francisco and in Los Angeles, and meetings are held alternately in Los Angeles and San Francisco. At a recent meeting of the Society Dr. Siegfried Bernfeld of San Francisco and Mrs. Frances Deri of Los Angeles were elected Honorary Members.

The TOPEKA INSTITUTE FOR PSYCHOANALYSIS has now a full program of instruction in the theory and practice of psychoanalysis. Dr. Karl Menninger, Dr. Robert P. Knight, Dr. Ernst Lewy, and Dr. Mary O'Neil Hawkins are particularly active in the Institute. The Society holds its regular meetings. In October Dr. O. Spurgeon English read a paper on The Observation of Emotional and Ideational Trends in Manic-Depressive Psychosis. In December Dr. Margaret Mead gave two lectures.

THE MEDICAL CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION, an affiliate of the AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION, is interested in establishing contact with all professional personnel who are especially concerned with, or interested in, the medical aspects of crime. Membership in this Association is open to a number of workers in the field of prison and crime study.

The annual dues of the Association are one dollar and its payment entitles the member to vote in elections, to present papers at the open meeting of the Association, to receive copies of the minutes, by-laws, as well as abstracts of papers which were presented at the last annual meeting.

The present officers of the Medical Correctional Association are: President, Dr. J. D. Reichard, U.S.P.H.S. Hospital, Lexington, Kentucky; First Vice President, Dr. John W. Cronin, Federal Reformatory, El Reno, Oklahoma; Second Vice President, Dr. Lawrence Kolb, Ass't Surgeon General, Dept. Mental Hygiene, Washington, D. C.; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Robert M. Lindner, Federal Penitentiary Hospital, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

The AMERICAN RED CROSS announces that a program of American Red Cross scholarship aid has been established as one means of increasing the number of qualified medical and psychiatric social workers available for Army and Navy hospitals and medical and psychiatric units. These scholarships will be granted to selected persons interested in training for these fields of social work offering approved curricula in medical or psychiatric work.

Candidates may designate the school of their choice from the approved list. The aid will cover one academic year—two semesters or three quarters. Upon completion of training the scholarship student will be expected to fulfil an agreement for two years' employment with the American National Red Cross.

Candidates must be between 22 and 40 years of age, in good physical health, and must have personality qualifications which indicate a likelihood of success in their chosen fields of work. Educational requirements include the successful completion of one academic year of work in an accredited graduate school of social work. The employment agreement of two years assumes that the service will be within the continental limits of the United States unless a student volunteers for Insular or Foreign Service.

The scholarships provide full tuition and an allowance of $65 a month for maintenance. Application forms may be obtained by writing to area assistant directors of the Military and Naval Welfare Service, Hospital Service or the Personnel Training Unit, Services to the Armed Forces, American Red Cross, National Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

Area office addresses are as follows: North Atlantic Area: 300 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Eastern Area: 615 North St. Asaph Street, Alexandria, Va. Midwestern Area: 1709 Washington Avenue, St. Louis, Mo. Pacific Area: Civic Auditorium, San Francisco, Calif.

A prize of $100 is offered by the MENNINGER FOUNDATION FOR PSYCHIATRIC EDUCATION AND RESEARCH for the best suggestion for a window display in a New York bank presenting the uses and purposes of psychiatry. The window is thirteen feet long, six feet high, and its deepest point about eight feet; it curves so that it is narrower at the ends. It will be seen chiefly by

laymen and hence the display should be in the nature of an educational theme, convincingly and graphically presented. It should dramatize the way in which psychiatry can be or is being useful either in the present war emergency or in peace time.

The judges will be Dr. George Stevenson, Director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Mr. Albert Lasker, of Lord and Thomas, and Dr. Lawrence Kubie.

Ideas should be submitted in detail, preferably with drawings or diagrams, directly to Dr. William C. Menninger, Director of The Menninger Foundation, Topeka, on or before January 31, 1943.